A

Short Account

OF THE

DECLARATION,

Given by the

CHINESE Emperour

Kam Hi,

In the Year 1700.

Nos autem predicamus Christum Crucifixum.

But we do Preach Christ Crucify'd. 1 Cor. 23.

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THE PREFACE.

THat the Enemies of Gods Church ſhou'd openly exclaim againſt the Society is no ſurprize, ſince theſe latter hereſies had no ſooner a birth, but God providentially rais'd it, as he had done in other times others, to oppoſe them with all vigour, and might therefore be well look'd upon as their Profeſs'd Adverſaries, attacking them on all ſides without ceaſe; but it is a great one, and ſcarce conceivable, how men of their own belief, men of Probity, Religion, and Conſcience, who make it their buſineſs to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the reſt of Mankind by an Air of Reformation, and Piety, ſhoud libellouſly traduce them, condemn their conduct, and treat them as Idolaters, tho' to their own, not the Societies confuſion. Offic. S. Ign. lect. 5.

For tho' they may prevail with their exclamations of abominations of the Miſſioners of the Society in China, *upon the unthinking part of the World, that is prejudic'd againſt them for faſhion ſake, and thereby the eaſilyer diſpos'd to receive any falſe and incoherent impreſſions of them, yet ſo long as there remains any man of good ſenſe in the World, he will not eaſily believe the Fathers*

will betray the intereſt of that Religion, to maintain which, they ſacrifice their Lives, and that they will leave all that is dear to them in Europe, *and go to* China *with Thuribles in their hands to adore the fabulous Dieties of the Eaſt, or to frame for that vaſt Empire a new monſtrous ſyſtem of Religion, Compounded of Chriſtanity and Heatheniſm, or that ſuch able Divines, as a* Richi, *a* Scal, *a* Verbieſt, *a* Martini, *fervourous zealous, Religious Miſſioners, whoſe names were no leſs conſiderable in* China, *than in* Europe, *who traverſt ſo vaſt a tract of Seas to convert Infidels, ſhoud be guilty of ſuch groſs Errours, and ſo foreign from the purity of our Faith, and peculiar Spirit of the Society; which is to preſerve our Holy Faith, in its purity among Catholicks, to defend it againſt its open Enemies, to oppoſe it ſelf ſtrenuouſly againſt novel opinions, and to carry it to the utmoſt confines of the Earth; and hence perpetual perſecution becomes their lot, a ſignal Teſtimony of their ſtill retaining their primitive Spirit.*

But becauſe there is no Calumny ſo coarſe, which paſſion may not colour with the air of truth, to clear the Society, Inſtruct the Ignorant, edify the good, and ſilence the Enemies of the Society, 'twas thought expedient to procure and publiſh this Declaration of the Emperour of China, *whereby it will clearly appear, that thoſe firſt Miſſioners were not miſtaken in the ſtrict ſcrutiny they made into the* Chineſe *ceremonies and cuſtoms; And that altho his Holineſs upon farther examination ſhould ſup-*

ſuppreſs the practice of the Society in China *for the future, the Publick cannot in juſtice, and prudence condemn their Conduct. For what better courſe than theirs, could be taken by zealous and prudent Miſſioners at their firſt arrival into an Empire, regulated by Laws, Diſcipline, and Sciences of a quite different complexion from ours? Muſt they without further ceremony ſubvert all that is oppoſite to our cuſtoms, and pull up without making diſtinction the Tares with the good Corn? No certainly; for they go thither to conquer their Souls, not to diſorder their Government.*

And for their ſo doing, they have the Authority, Declaration, and Approbation of the Holy See of Rome, *viz. that the ſuperſtitious actions may be retrenched, and thoſe that are not ſuperſtitious, practiſed. The Orders of the Congregation to the Biſhops in their Miſſion to* China, *run thus:* Never perſwade the people to renounce their Natural Rites, unles manifeſtly obnoxious to Religion, and good manners; in effect, what is more Foreign to good ſenſe, than to endeavour, as one wou'd ſay, to Frenchify *China*, to change it into *Spaniſh*, *Italian*, or to endeavour to reſemble it to any Province of *Europe*? our Faith alone, and not our Manners, is to be introduc'd. For all men having an inbred inclination to value, and love their own Nation, better than others, nothing can render us more odious to this people, than

to go about to aboliſh their cuſtoms, eſpecially ſuch as are immemorial. *And for their farther direction, whenſoever it ſhall be doubtful, whether their Ceremonies, and Rites be purely civil and political, or ſuperſtitious, and contrary to Faith, and good Manners, the Miſſioner is to cenſure them* allowable *according to the rule preſcrib'd him by the Sacred Congregation, viz.* provided they be not moſt openly contrary, to Religion and good Manners.

Now for ſome to reply, that the Chineſe *ceremonies are as evidently ſuperſtitious, as it is evident,* the Seine runs by Paris, *is a bolt ſoon ſhot, for how can the Sacred Congregation beleive it? ſince more then a hundred Miſſioners,* men *of Learning, Virtues, and Zeal, after all their endeavours ſpent for a whole Century in ſtudying the Language, and the Genuine ſignification of their* Rites, Ceremonies, *and* Words, *according to their* firſt primitive inſtitution, *and of conſulting likewiſe their ableſt and moſt intelligent Doctors of theſe Rites,* &c. *for* 20, *or* 30 *Years ſucceſſively, could never perceive this clear evidence.*

Again, if it be as Evident, that Confucius *and the Dead are Idols, as it is that the* Seine runs by Paris, *how could their Adverſaries connive at the Chriſtians paying them publick reſpect ſo many years. Sixteen years are paſt and more, ſince Mounſieur* Megrot *was Apoſtolical Vicar, who did for nine years allow the Chriſti-*

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ans of his Diſtrict to honour Confucius, *and perform the Ceremonies of the Dead; which if manifeſt Idolatry, how came he to tolerate* ſo long *their ſo doing, without betraying his truſt, and of incurring the repute of a Prevaricator, an Idolater, and a Traytor to his Religion? whereas the allowing of them can be no reproach to the Society; Becauſe they look upon them as a* civil Politick *worſhip, and* as ſuch, *allow them; ſo that if they be in an errour, at leaſt they proceed* Bona fide, *which cannot excuſe theſe Gentlemen, for they will never make the World believe they wanted Twelve, or Fifteen years of continual ſtudy to diſcover a truth, as well known to* China, *at 'tis to the* Pariſians, *that* the Seine runs by Paris.

The Society therefore having again fully examin'd with all candour and Sincerity the Chineſe *Ceremonies, and conſider'd without preposſeſſion, what was fit to allow for Publick Edification, and purity of Faith; and having prov'd in the Ballance of the Sanctuary, the moſt Effectual and appoſite means to advance Religion in this great Empire, judged it their incumbent Duty to re-ſettle the Order, that had been obſerv'd with good Succeſs for a whole Age, and which* Rome *hath permitted, and approv'd for above* 40 *Years. And if the beſt expedient to put an End to theſe diſputes ſo Odious to* China, *and Scandalous to* Europe, *be, as ſome have thought, to permit ſome Ceremonies,*

and prohibit others; what more than this doth the Society at preſent deſire, it being what they have practiſed for an Age.

For they forbid the Ceremonies of the Equinox, when Wine, Meat, and Perfumes are preſented after ſuch a mode, as might Scandelize the Weak, they never allow the Burning of Paper upon Tombs, being a Bonzian Superſtition, nor ever countenanc'd the pouring out of Wine upon the Coffins of the Dead; or the Elevating Eatables in the Air with Sacrificial Terms; or the trying the goodneſs of Beaſts, by pouring Wine, or Water into their Ears; or the Hyperbolizing in the enconiums of Confucius; *as being not Ignorant, that moſt of theſe additional Ceremonies, tho indifferent in themſelves, are ſhocking, eſpecially to us* Europeans, *unacquainted with the True Reaſon, and meaning of them. And of all the Honours by Law Eſtabliſh'd, in Favour of* Confucius, *they only Tollerate ſuch as are us'd by Bachellours of Art; and which conſiſt ſolely in proſtrating before his Name, in token of the reſpect that is due to him, ſtill retaining it, as a principle amongſt them:* Confucius is but a Man: The Learned make him their Maſter, not their God. *If likewiſe you inquire of the* Chineſe *about their Ceremonies perform'd to the Dead: They, as well as their ſeveral Ancient and approv'd Antiquaries, will aſſure you, that nothing remains of a Dead man in the Grave, but his Body;* And that the Soul mounts up to Hea-

Heaven, and reſides there. *And that theſe Ceremonies are merely intended,* Firſt, *As tokens of gratitude, and payments of that Duty and Reverence, which is due from Children to Parents, and are,* Secondly, Their *Monuments, erected for no other End, then to perpetuate in their Families, the Memory of their Progenitors, eſpecially the* Raiſers, *and the more* Eminent *of their progeny.*

In order therefore to their vindication from the unjuſt Cenſure they have been branded with, and may perhaps again, they have this to offer to the unprejudiced Reader; that if, as men, they have err'd, they have prudently err'd, as having followed in the queſt of truth ſuch rules as Chriſtian Prudence, and Right Reaſon Dictates in all mens opinion; for it is certain, the Jeſuites for theſe hundred years have conſulted the ableſt men in the Empire, as Miniſters of State, Governours of Provinces, Vice-Roys, learned and celebrated Doctors, and moſt of them Chriſtians, and conſequently the moſt competent judges to know and diſtinguiſh Civil *from* Religious *worſhip. The more therefore they conſidered the matter, the more they were convinc'd of the neceſſity of ſtanding by their firſt Deciſions. And tho' ſome Miſſioners of other Bodies were of a different Judgment, yet the moſt learned of the Dominicans ſubſcribed to the Fathers, even againſt their own Brethren. And two of their Provincials after a rigorous diſcuſſion of the queſtion, ordered their Subjects to ſide with them*

them. But what is, and ought to be the moſt convincing Argument to determine the matter is this late Declaration of the Emperour of China, &c. *the chief Subject matter of this Book. And what above all they have to offer in their vindication, and that aſſures them, they are in the right, is the Declaration of* Rome *it ſelf in their favour, after having heard both Parties.*

And what elſe do they now deſire, but the continuance of the ſame method thus ſo many ways, *and ſo* Solidly *authoriz'd? And what other methods have, I pray, their preſent Adverſaries obſerv'd ſince their Miſſion? Was it not in Virtue of the ſecond Decree of the Sacred Congregation, they were oblig'd to admit the* Politicbites, *and reject the* Superſtitions *? Have not both Parties liv'd quietly ſo long together, and animated with the ſame ſpirit, labour'd for the ſame end? Have not theſe new Apoſtles been edify'd with their zeal, incourag'd by their example, and ſupported by their Authority, lead their flocks with them to the ſame paſture, and march'd the ſame way, which the ſupreme Paſtor* Alexander VII. *had chalk'd out to all? and this under the ſhadow, and protection of the Emperour, whom we hope to ſee in time become the great* Conſtantine *of* Aſia, *if theſe new reviv'd diſputes, carryed on with over-acted zeal, and inconſiderate heats, do not (which God avert) unhappyly obſtruct it. But for the exceſſes of others, the Society is not to be anſwerable; For muſt they to allay the Storm, and*

to gratify the unwarrantable humour of a few modern Miſſioners, ruin and lay waſt, what fifty others more ancient, and better vers'd in the Miſſion, have ſo wiſely eſtabliſh'd? Muſt they run the riſque not only of their own reputation, but what is far more, of Religion, *and the* converſion *of the greateſt Empire of the Univerſe: This would prove to be a more fatal peace, than War. And after all, it is much to be doubted; whether it could be maintain'd long upon ſuch terms, without the raiſing of new Controverſies.*

Tho' this muſt be ſaid in their Commendation, that to all the crimes laid to their charge, they have never recriminated. They could have put a bar to the new Miſſion in China, *and covertly have defeated the accuſation with the Accuſer: but far from ſuch proceedings, tho not impracticable, they have been more than once imploy'd in their behalf, and their own hand will atteſt, how the Society hath ſhelter'd them under its wings, as F.* Alcala *a Dominican teſtifies in his letter at* Manila *on this Subject; where he extolls the indefatigable labours of the Society in* China, *and ingeniouſly owns, that the other Miſſioners without their protection would have been incapacitated to diſcharge their function. They have ſeconded their good intentions, concur'd to their Settlement, and have not only ſacrifis'd their reſentments for the love of Jeſus Chriſt, but alſo their own private intereſts; tho they well foreſaw, it wou'd turn in the end to their diſadvantage.*

The

PREFACE.

The ſole thought, that Divine Providence will in due time direct all to a laſting, and edifying peace, anticipates their joy in the midſt of their ſufferings. This peace ſo precious in the ſight of God, ſo neceſſary for each Parties repoſe, and ſo advantagious for the converſion of Idolaters, have they coveted, tho loaden with Calumnies, and have waited for with patience, and good Offices. And whenever at unawars any word of complaint dropt from their Lips, 'twas not ſo much the reſentment of their ſufferings, as the regret for the troubles, and deſolation of the Church.

For they are very ſenſible, the greateſt Evil derives its Origin from the common Enemy of Peace and Religion. The Divil ever bent upon michief, in order to worry the Flock of Chriſt, leaves no ſtone unturn'd to divide the Paſtours. To raiſe commotions amongſt Worldlings, *he ſets all their Humours aſlote; and to diſturb the Zealous* Miſſioners *in the Miniſtry, he mis-uſes their Virtue; Scandal is Varniſh'd with the Colour of Zeal, and the Spirit of Reformation ſtops the Current of the Goſpol. The Ambition of ſharing in the Apoſtolical Labours of the Society has ſubverted the Occonomy of their Miſſions; and thus Hell Encounters them with their Arms. Theſe conſiderations make the Society willing to defend its Adverſaries, and ſhou'd be tranſported with Joy to ſee them linck'd to it with the Bonds of Charity. It readily apologizes for the weakneſs of*

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ſome few, applauding their good intentions. The thing alone it deſires is, that all prejudice may be laid aſide, and a right Idea of Idolatry, *ſo much of late in mens Mouths, re-aſſum'd then they'll be eaſiely convinc'd, that it is only a fancy of their own Brains, which a little charity would correct, did but every one let-fall the intereſt of his Party.*

For who can without regret hear them ſay in Aſia, *and even in* Europe, *and nearer home, I am* Paul's, *I am* Apollo's, *and I am* Cephas's, *what imports it, whether our* Faith *he preached by* Cephas, *or* Apollo ? *All is good, all is profitable, provided our Lords name be announc'd to the whole World ; All are Chriſts Miniſters, but then let them not divide Jeſus Chriſt by dangerous debates, nor turn the ſword given them for the deſtruction of Infernal powers againſt his Miniſters. It is very true, that even the firſt Apoſtles were not all of a mind ; that St.* Paul *reprimanded St.* Peter, *and that the ſame Apoſtle not long after left St.* Barnaby *upon light grounds in appearance ; And in a Controverſy between St.* Jerom, *and St.* Auſtin ; *there was a certain air of animoſity, to convince us, the greateſt Saints have not quite ſhaken off the old man. In a word, much Zeal, and little diſcretion may cauſe great Scandal in the Church, and makes the reproach fall heavy on thoſe that were the firſt authors of ſuch hot and ſtubborn debates ; who with the Scandal thence ariſing, wound the very Souls, they meant to cure.*

How

How aptly are applyed to ſuch theſe words of St. *Paul*, nonne delictum eſt in vobis, quod judicia habetis inter vos? Quare non injuriam magis accipitis? Sed vos injuriam facitis, & hoc fratribus. *Pretend what you will, is it not a fault to Entertain, and foment differences amongſt you? why do you not rather put up the Affront? Far from bearing it patiently, you attack each other, even your own Brethren. How far better were it, and more edifying to own and ſay,* Frater es, creſcas in Mille millia. *Theſe are my Brethren, may they increaſe more and more, to the greater Glory of God, and the good of his Holy Church. Their Honour ſhall be to me as dear as my own, theſe are Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, repleniſh'd with zeal, Capacity, and Probity, who have born for a whole Age, the Weight, and Heat of the Day in our Lords Vineyard, to whoſe experience in this Miſſion I ought, as leſs acquainted with the Cuſtoms, Ceremonies, and Genious of this Nation, to ſuperſede. Thus all animated with each others Zeal, will Labour unanimouſly to fill up Chriſt's Fold, and theſe are the true deſires the love of Religion inſpires his Miſſioners, with for the converſion of* China. 1 Cor. 6.

And here I purpos'd to have put an End to this Preface, *but upon Second thoughts, I have drawn it out much beyond my Firſt intention, with the Tranſactions and Deciſions*

of

of Rome, *upon the Queſtions in debate; which will, I hope, both pleaſe the Readers, who have hitherto talkt* Pro *and* Con *of the matter* without *Book, and together plead the Pardon of a prolix* Preface.

After then that the Fathers had for 50 *Years Laboured with great Succeſs in this new Planted-Vineyard of Chriſt, to the Aſtoniſhment of all. F.* John Baptiſt de Morales a Dominican Fryar and *F.* Anthony de ſante Maria, *a* Franciſcan, *having been about* 3 *or* 4 Years *in* China, *and perfectly learnt, as they fancyed the* Chineſe *Language, began to Scrupulize the practiſe of the Fathers of the Society, and to diſturb the Peace of this Floriſhing Miſſion. For without any regard or difference had to the plurality of Miſſioners, grown already grey in the Study of the* Chineſe *Characters, they began to boggle at their Method; and writ immediately to the* Philippin-Iſlands, that they had ſeen Abomination of Deſolation in the Holy place; *that Chriſtianity was prophaned, and that the Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, inſtead of beating down Idolatry, defended it. This letter made a great noiſe in thoſe Iſlands, and two of the Biſhops,* viz. *the Arch-Biſhop of* Manila, *and the Biſhop of* Zebut, *more zelous than the reſt, thought fit to give the, Pope* Urban *the* VIII. *an account of what was writ to them from* China, *and hotly accus'd the Miſſioners of the Society, of introducing practiſes contrary to Eccleſiaſtical* Cuſtoms, *and the purity*

of

of our Faith. *But theſe BB. upon better informations, they receiv'd in a ſecond letter, repented, and own'd they had been miſinform'd. And as it was the duty of a Biſhop to attack errours dreſſed out in any diſguiſe, ſo it was a point of Juſtice in them to patroniſe innocency, and diſcountenance calumny.* We are, ſay they, *oblig'd in Conſcience to juſtify the Fathers of* the Society againſt ſuch unjuſt accuſations, and exert our utmoſt endeavours to defend the Truth, and their Innocency. *And with this Authentick Declaration, the Tempeſt ſeem'd to be Allay'd. But Father* Morales, *to convince the World of the Fathers ill proceedings, being now Embarkt in the debate, thought himſelf oblig'd to puſh it on. Wherefore without ſtaying in* China *for the clearing of his doubts there, tho' he had propos'd them to the Viſitour of the Society; he unknown to them, as to his Voyage and deſign, Imbarks for* Europe, *comes to* Rome, *about the End of the Pontificate of* Urban VIII. *and propoſes his doubts in* 17 *Articles to the Congregation of Cardinals; which are, as follows.*

1. *Whether the* Chineſe *Chriſtians be bound to faſt, keep the Precepts of the Church, confeſs, and communicate once a year?*

2. *Whether the Miſſioners in the Baptiſm of Women, may omit the Ceremonies of Spittle, Salt, and the Oyl of Catechumens, or diſpenſe with the adminiſtration of Extream-Unction to them?*

2. *Whe-*

3. *Whether it may be allowed the* Chineſe, *to take* 30. *p. Cent, according to the Imperial Statute forloan of money, lying dead by them and without hazard of the principle?*

4. *Whether it be lawful to permit publick Uſerers, turning Chriſtians, to continue their Uſury, when ſo oblig'd by the Manderins.*

5. *Whether Children be bound to reſtore the uſarous gain?*

6. *Whether, when the Idolators collect contribution in Cities and Towns for heatheniſh Sacrifices, and ſuperſtitions, the Chriſtians may contribute their quota for fear of incuring the* Pagans *Hatred and Diſpleaſure, in caſe of refuſal?*

7. *Whether, becauſe the Manderins are oblig'd on certain exigencies to Sacrifice to the Idol* Chim-hoan, *to proſtrate before it, to adore it, the Chriſtians in office may be allow'd at their entering their Temples, to conceal a croſs in their hand, or in the flowers of the Altar, and ſo perform all their exteriour Rites, under pretence of referring mentally, the honour not to the Idol, but to the croſs hidden.*

8. *Whether Chriſtians can offer Sacrifice to* Confucius *in his Temple, aſſiſt at it, or make uſe of a Croſs to direct their intention by?*

9. *Whether the like oblations being offered to the* Dead, *the Chriſtians may be preſent, and make theſe offerings, intending them as before, to the conceal'd Croſs?*

10 *Whether one may not tollerate the Chri-*

ſtians to perform in private the above mentioned Ceremonies, without any other then meer civil reſpect to their Progenitors, eſpecially if a Croſs accompany the offering?

11 *Whether, it being a* Chineſe *cuſtom in this occaſion to have a penſil tablet, call'd in their Phraſe* the ſeat of the Soul, *the* place, where the Soul does really repoſe, *and accept the oblations, proſtrations, and Prayers of her Votaries, and is plac'd on a real Altar, can a Chriſtian retain theſe reſemblances, and uſe them with their Ceremonies?*

12 *Whether when one dies, an Altar is erected in the Houſe near the Coffin, Perfume, and wax Lights burn in his Honour, there hangs a Tablet, where the Parents and Relations proſtrate to,* &c. *all this be lawful?*

13 *Whether it be neceſſary to inſtruct the Catechumens before Baptiſm, that Chriſtian Religion prohibits all Sacrifices, and Idolatry?*

14 *Whether* 耶XIM, *ſignifying with the* Chineſe *the ſame, as* Saint *with us, one may uſe it to humour the Idolaters, and ſay,* Confucius is a Saint?

15 *Whether it be allowable to our Miſſioners to place in our Churches on the Altars Chineſe-wiſe, a picture with this inſcription,* let the Emperour live a Thouſand and a Thouſand Years?

16 *Whether one may ſay Maſs for the* Chineſe *Idolaters, that dyed in their Infidelity?*

17 *Whe-*

17 *Whether they being ſcandaliz'd at our preaching Jeſus Chriſt crucified, it be neceſſary to mention this Myſtery, or ſhew them a Crucifix?*

Theſe, Reader, are the doubts, which F. Jo. Baptiſt de Morales *had obſerv'd and collected after three or four years of ſuperficial ſtudy of the* Chineſs *knotty Sciences, Myſtries, and Rites. And not being able himſelf to decide ſuch obvious Catechiſtical inſtructions, he judg'd it his duty to take a ſecond tour about the World to conſult the Sacred Congregation; whether Chriſtians ſhou'd be prohibted uſurarious practices, or might offer Sacrifice to Idols? or whether it were lawful to diſſemble ones Religion, appearing an Idolater in publick, provided one ador'd the true God in private? whether one might pray for the Damned, or Canonize notorious Infidels after death? or whether a Chriſtian might be lawfully ignorant of Jeſus Chriſt Crucified?*

But this good Father might have added one quere more for the quiet of his Conſcience, and ask'd the Congregation, whether it were lawful for a Religious man, a Prieſt, and a Miſſioner to arraign before the higheſt Court of Judicature in Gods Church his Brethren of prevarication, ſuperſtition, and Idolatry, without good grounds? It had been more to his purpoſe to have been reſolv'd of this doubt, and being inform'd of his obligation in this caſe, he might have ſav'd himſelf the pains of propoſing his

quires to the ſacred Congregation. For it is clear that this good man meant to accuſe the Miſſioners of the Society, tho no mention be made of them in the proceſs; and would have the World believe them guilty, or at leaſt thought ſo, of theſe abominations, as appears by his own letter, and private conferences.

The Miſſioners in China *having receiv'd intelligence of theſe tranſactions in* Europe, *deputed F.* Martini *of their Society, to inform the Court of* Rome *of the true State of the Miſſions; who at his arrival explain'd the particular cuſtoms of* China *to the Pope and Cardinals, their Laws, Policy, and Religion, together with what the Miſſioners of the Society tollerated in the* Chineſe Neophites. *And in the winding up of his diſcourſe, beg'd the favour of his Holyneſs to preſcribe to their Miſſioners the methods they were to obſerve for the future. And that as he had heard* F. Morales, *he would vouchſafe to lend an Ear to the humble remonſtrance of* F. Martini *which to do juſtice to both parties was accordingly granted, and a ſecond Decree obtain'd.*

PREFACE.

The Anſwer of the Second Congregation. An. Dom. 1656.

THE Miſſioners of the Society of Jeſus having not been Heard, when ſeveral queres were propos'd to the Sacred Congregation *de propaganda*, and the matters of Fact differently ſtated. Our Holy Father has remited this Affair to the Sacred Congregation of the Supream and General Inquiſition of Faith, which after having reported, the ſentiments of the Qualificatours return'd the following Anſwers.

The Firſt demand made by F. Martini, *was to know*, whether the Miſſioner, when he Baptizes a Catechumen, be bound to declare to him his obligation under Mortal Sin of obſerving the Poſitive Law, or precepts of the Church, as to Faſts, Eccleſiaſtical Feaſts, Annual Confeſſion, and *Eaſter* Communion?

The ground of the doubt as to Faſting is this. The *Chineſe* are occuſtom'd from their Cradle to Three Meals a day; becauſe their Aliments are very Light. Beſides the *Mandarins* are oblidg'd to be at Court, and remain there for Eight Hours together in the Morning till two in the,

Afternoon, which to do Faſting is abſolutely impracticable. As to Feaſts, moſt Chriſtians are bound to work for their Lively-hood. Moreover many of them are order'd by their Mandarins to do many Servile works upon Holy-days. And the Mandarins themſelves are bound to a perſonal appearance at Court on the ſame days, upon pain of being turn'd out. The Miſſioners being few, the Kingdom vaſtly large, it is impoſſible for all Chriſtians to hear Maſs on Holy-day, Confeſs once a Year, and receive at *Eaſter*.

The Sacred Congregation, purſuant to the Report, advis'd the Miſſioners to inform the Chriſtians, that the poſitive Law of the Church relating to Faſts, obſervance of Feaſts, Annual Confeſſions and Communions, oblig'd them under mortal ſin, yet at the ſame time they might remonſtrate to them the Reaſons, why they are Sometimes diſpens'd with in the Obſervance of theſe precepts. And that if his Holineſs thought fit, the Miſſioners might have power to diſpenſe with them in particular caſes only, when judged Neceſſary.

The Second demand. Whethere the Miſſioner in Baptizing Women ought to obſerve all the Church Ceremonies? *Item.* Whether it be ſufficient to give the Sacrament of Extream-Unction only to thoſe that ask it? Or even refuſe it to them, when in all probility, Perſecution, or Scandal may follow of it? The

The grounds of this demand proceed from the Extream Modeſty of the *Chineſe* Women, their inbred Baſhfullneſs and great Averſion to the Commerce of men, ſhuning their very Sight. So that unleſs the Miſſioners carry themſelves in this occaſion with great reſerve and precaution, they give great Scandal to the *Chineſe*, and expoſe Religion to Eminent danger of being loſt.

The Sacred Congregation, in regard to theſe queres, judged it expedient for us, to omit ſome Ceremonies in the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, and to diſpenſe with Extream-Unction in caſe of neceſſity.

The Third demand: Whether Chriſtian Scholars may practiſe with a ſafe Conſcience, the Ceremonies that are perform'd in Honour of *Confucius* in his Hall, at the taking their degrees, becauſe no Sacrifice is then offer'd, no Pagan Prieſt, or Bonzy preſent, nor any Idolatrous Rites perform'd, but an Aſſembly only of the Learned, as Scholars, that own *Confucius* for their Maſter, meet and give him a civil and politick reſpect, in compliance with the firſt inſtitution. In this Hall or Colledge, which is opened to no other People but Scholars, and by conſequence no Temple, Students that are to take the degree of Batchelour meet, and attend the Chancellour, Doctors, and Examiners, and having paid their De-

voirs and Reverences before *Confucius*'s name, no otherwiſe than Scholars do to their living Maſters, and own'd him for their Maſter, they are graduated by the Chancellour, and then withdraw.

The Sacred Congregation has thought fit according to theſe Informations to permit the *Chineſe* Chriſtians the practice of theſe ceremonies; becauſe it ſeems to be a reſpect and worſhip purely civil and politick.

The fourth demand: Whether it may be permited to the Chriſtians to practice the ceremonies inſtituted according to the Maxims of the *Chineſe* Philoſophers in Honour of their Dead, rejecting the ſuperſtitions, that have been ſince added. *Item*, whether the *Chineſe* Chriſtians may practice theſe ſort of permited ceremonies in company of their *Pagan* Parents. And more, whether it may be allowed the *Chineſe* Chriſtians, after having made a profeſſion of their Faith, to be preſent at the ſuperſtitious ceremonies of the Idolaters, not to join with them in thoſe Actions, nor Authoriſe them, but becauſe it would look very ſtrange to have Relations abſent, and diſpens'd with in their civil Duties, and thus become the occaſion of Diſguſt, Enmity and Hatred, in fine the *Chineſe* attributes no Divinity to the Souls of the Dead, nor hope for, or demand any thing from them.

The

The three manners they have of honouring their Dead are explain'd at length in the decree.

The Sacred Congregation purſuant to what has been propos'd has judg'd, that it might be ſuffered the *Chineſe* Converts to practice theſe ſorts of ceremonies in Honour of their Dead, and in company with the Gentils, provided the ſuperſtitious be cut off. *Item*, that they may aſſiſt with them at their ceremonies, that are mixt with ſuperſtitions, when they have firſt made their profeſſion of Faith, and when there is no danger of their perverſion, and when they cannot otherwiſe avoid the Enmity and Hatred of their Relations.

This decree was brought to the general Aſſembly of the Inquiſition, and approved by our H. Father Pope Alexander VII. Mar. 23. 1656.

F. Martini *having obtain'd it after a long debate, and a moſt rigid examination, return'd to* China *fully perſwaded; that now the Miſſioners of the Goſpel, cemented with the Charity of Jeſus Chriſt, would for the future labour with the ſame Spirit, and uniformity of mind in the Converſion of this great Empire. But God, whoſe Judgments are unſearchable, did not permit the Adverſaries of the Society to open their Eyes to the Light. It was natural enough to adhere to this laſt deciſion, oppoſite to the former, yet they made it a point of Conſcience,*

and

and perhaps of honour too, to proteſt againſt this ſecond decree.

For when F. Morales *obtain'd the firſt decree, the Society was not heard, as knowing nothing of his Journey to* Rome, *nor deſign; and tho it ordered the* Chineſe *Chriſtians to abſtain from certain practices expreſs'd in his demands, yet it was with this additional clauſe,* till his Holyneſs, or the Holy See ordains otherwiſe, *the reaſon of adding this limitation was, becauſe they could not be aſſur'd, that theſe practices as lain down by F.* Morales, *were conform to the truth, and that, what was permited in* China, *was ſo faulty, as he had conceiv'd, and therefore the Sacred Congregation proceeded very wiſely in making a decree, that ſhou'd ſtop the courſe of evil, if there was any in it, and ſhou'd be nevertheleſs Provinſional,* till the Holy See, *after a more ample information,* ordaineth otherwiſe, *if neceſſary.*

And that the practices of the Chineſe *Chriſtians were not ſo bad, as F.* Morales, *hurryed on by too much zeal, and for want of longer experience, had firſt conceiv'd, is clear by his own proceedings at his return into* China. *For of the* 17 *anſwers which he had receiv'd from the Holy See to his ſame number, of doubts he thought fit to ſuppreſs,* 9, VIZ. *the* 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, *in which he had ſpoken of the Baptiſm of publick Uſurers, of the reſtitution their Heirs ought to be oblig'd to, make of the Contributions exacted of Chriſtians for the Feaſts*

and

and Sacrifices of Idols of the honour Chriſtians pay to their Doctor Confucius, &c. *And of the other eight Anſwers, which he thought fit to publiſh in the* Chineſe *language, for the inſtruction of Chriſtians, he has only given a ſlight abſtract, a clear ſign of ſelf-Conviction that he had been formerly miſinformed, and that he had truſted too much to others, that knew no better the cuſtoms, and ceremonies of* China, *than he did himſelf. Does it not therefore look to have more of* honour *then* conſcience *in it to ſtand out ſtill, and not conform to this ſecond decree, which was iſſued out after both parties had been heard, and the matters of fact candidly ſtated, and different from F.* Morale's, *and which he himſelf would not ſtand to at his return into* China.

With two Notandums *more I cloſe this Preface, the firſt, that it is not pretended the firſt decree was ever abſolutely repeal'd by the ſecond, tho it was delivered with ſuch wiſe caution, that it was to be in force* till ſuch time the Holy See ſhould think fit to ordain otherwiſe; *as de facto it did upon hearing and deciding the demands of the Society, who had not then been heard, when the firſt decree was procur'd Neither is it pretended that the ſecond decree is to be excluſive of a third, if for example, truth ſhoud appear hereafter in a clearer light, than it does at preſent. But as the third woi'd certainly ſuppoſe the Informations of the Society to be of little weight, ſo the ſecond ſuppoſe, the*

ſame

ſame of the firſt, and abundantly ſatisfies the World, that the Sacred Congregation did not altogether credit the Teſtimony of Father John Baptiſt de Morales.

The ſecond thing to be noted is, that if, under the pretext of the matter of Facts *being miſrepreſented to the Court of* Rome, *one may lawfully refuſe to ſubſcribe to its decrees, as here in effect they did to this ſecond decree,* Rome *can never oblige the Faithfull, tho* Subjects, *to ſtand to its deciſions; for there will never be wanting this precedent for all to proteſt againſt its proceedings, viz.* his Holyneſs was miſinform'd of the fact, *and thus the leaſt tergiverſation may ſcreen them from their obedience to their Chief Paſtor. It is very true, one may ſuſpend the execution of an order upon certain emergences, eſpecially when acquired* manifeſtly *by a falſe information. But what Court of Judicature can countenance diſobedience to a decree of above forty years ſtanding, no ways repugnant to truth at leaſt in appearance? And conform to which theſe very Adverſaries of the Society did, as I obſerv'd before, govern themſelves and their Flock for many years. That is, till F.* Joſeph Monteyro, *a Portugues Jeſuite by order of the Arch-Biſhop of* Goa, *intimated in his name to Mounſieur* Maigrot, *that the preſent affair of the* Indies *being ended in favour of the Biſhops at* Rome *by* Urban VIII. *that Prelate had enjoyned him to act as his Grand Vicar in the Province of Mounſieur* Maigrot,

A Short Account OF THE DECLARATION, Given by the *CHINESE* Emperour Kam Hi, In the Year 1700.

An Account of what happen'd before the obtaining the Emperour's Declaration.

A Diſpute of Moment being rais'd about the Year 1638, concerning ſome cuſtoms, Eſtabliſht in the *Chineſe* Empire: Some looking upon thoſe Practices, as Superſtitious, and ſavouring of Idolatry, which the *F. F.* of the Society had allow'd of, as Civil and Political Ceremonies. Both Parties had Recourſe

to the Holy See, but at different times, in order to Learn what was to be Taught and Practis'd in a buſineſs of ſo great a concern. And as the Queſtion was variouſly ſtated; ſo different Anſwers were given in Relation to the Lawfulneſs, and Unlawfulneſs of thoſe Ceremonies, without entring upon an examine of the different matters of Fact each Party Alledg'd. A Deciſion of that nature requiring more time, and pains, than the matter in debate could well admit of. In this Diſpute the Opinion of the Society was backt by many Eminent men, weighty Reaſons, and Texts of *Chineſe* Authors, concerning which, many Treatiſes have been Publiſht. But this Queſtion being propos'd a new to the Court of *Rome*, and in all appearance not like to be ended in many Years, without much pains and labour; each endeavouring to make out by the Authority of *Chineſe* Authors, that they are in the right, as to the ſenſe and meaning of theſe Rites: It was thought expedient to ſearch out ſome compendious way of ending this Controverſy, which as on the one hand would certainly be grateful to his Holineſs, who deſires nothing more than their Union, and agreement, who labour in that Miſſion; ſo on the other, might be ſufficient to put an end to this Diſpute, which has laſted many Years; and quiet their Conſciencies, who have been in ſome pain about it.

In order to effect this, all the *F. F.* reſiding at *Pekin*, agreed that the Emperour himſelf was to be conſulted, and intreated to determine by a certain and ſafe Sentence, the true ſenſe and meaning

meaning of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Empire; that thence they might come to underſtand, whether the Ceremonies, by which *Confucius* was uſually hononour'd, were only Civil duties, or in ſome meaſure Religious. Their intent, I ſay, was to obtain a certain and ſafe deciſion of this doubt: For it belongs to the Emperour alone to determine the Rites which are to be us'd, and the end to which they are to be directed.

For he being the Supreme Legiſlator of the Empire, as well in Relation to Religious, as Civil Duties, his Authority is ſo abſolute in both theſe points, that he Preſcribes to the whole Empire, the Ceremonies which are to be us'd, the end, to which they are to be directed, and the ſenſe, in which the Writings of the Ancients are to be taken. His Deciſion of the preſent doubt, was alſo certain to recieve no ſmall Authority from the great Repute he is in through the whole Empire, for a Man profoundly Learned, and he muſt effectually paſs for ſuch in all men's Opinions; who conſider the number of *European* and *Chineſe* Sciences, in which this Prince excells. He is ſo eminent in the latter, that he examines all the Learn'd men, who reſort to *Pekin*, in order to be promoted to the Supreme degree, Eſtabliſht in the Empire, and paſſes his Judgment of the excellence of their Compoſitions: In ſo much, that ſcarce any of his Subjects reach the Reputation he is in, as to the point of Learning and Erudition.

Now in order to obtain this Princes Sentence, no ſmall difficulties were to be ſurmounted. They ſeem'd at the firſt ſight ſo very great, that ſome of the *F. F.* who at firſt reſolv'd to have recourſe to him, look'd upon them as inſurmountable, and were againſt attempting it. The chief, which occur'd, was the dread they were in, leaſt the Emperour, being of a ſharp and piercing Wit, ſhould endeavour to penetrate, and would abſolutely know upon what account, and what intent the *F. F.* ſo unanimouſly Petition'd his determination concerning the point in Queſtion; and that it ſeem'd very probable, that he would endeavour to find it out by many Queſtions, and that by that means he might come to have ſome knowledge of the difficulties rais'd againſt the Society by an Apoſtolical Vicar. Now if this ſhould happen, and draw him into ſome inconveniencies, the Society would be certainly expos'd to a great Odium, and lie under the Imputation of having abus'd its power with a Heathen Prince againſt the Apoſtolical Vicars. This conſideration ſuſpended for a long time the execution of what was deſign'd; all concluding, that it was rather to be laid aſide, than attempted with ſo much danger. But at length this difficulty was ſurmounted, and the danger remov'd, when means were found out to Petition his Majeſty in ſuch terms, as were neither liable to create any ſuſpition in him, or danger to others, as will appear by the Tenor of the Petition preſented to him.

Upon

Upon this, the buſineſs being communicated to all the *F. F.* and diligently diſcus'd, and that way which was propos'd, as moſt ſafe, examin'd with all maturity and attention; all unanimouſly concluded to Petition his Majeſty in the Name of all reſiding at *Pekin*, to declare to them the true ſenſe and meaning of the *Chineſe* Ceremonies.

This being agreed on, after ſome days ſpent in imploring the Divine aſſiſtance, and drawing up the deſign'd Petition, on the 19th of *November* 1700, they intimated their deſign to the *Tartar Mandarin Hesken*, by whom their Petition was to be preſented to the Emperour, and reſolv'd to have it preſented on the Feaſt of the Preſentation of the Bleſſed Virgin. This *Mandarin* who is well verſt in the affairs of *China*, and upon account of his Erudition, quick Wit, and eloquent Stile, much valued by the Emperour, was no ſooner acquainted with what we deſign'd to propoſe to him; but he told us without Heſitation, that the Ceremonies perform'd towards *Confucius*, and the Dead; were only Civil duties, that by their Primitive Inſtitution they were directed to no other end; and that this was the ſenſe of the Empire in Relation to them. Being further ask'd his ſentiment concerning the *Tien*, or *Heaven*, and *Xam Ti*; he preſently Anſwer'd, That he underſtood the Supreme Maker, and Lord of Heaven and Earth, that the Ancient Philoſophers and Kings meant the ſame by them, that all things were govern'd by him, and not by the Material Heavens, or any Inanimate Being.

But this Courtier, being like the reſt in theſe parts, very cautious, was deterr'd from preſenting our Petition to his Prince, not knowing how it would be receiv'd; for the Queſtion ſeem'd too bold, and he was not diſpos'd to run the leaſt risk upon our account. Whilſt he was wavering and doubtful of the reception our Petition might meet with, ſince it laid the Emperour, otherwiſe Impenetrable, under a neceſſity of declaring publickly, whether he Ador'd the true God of Heaven and Earth; or only the Material Heaven. The Eunuch *Lie* (one of thoſe few, who always attend the Emperour, and carries his Orders) gave him a viſit, *Heskin* and he being intimate Friends, he propos'd the buſineſs to him, in order to have his Advice: He reciev'd the happieſt Anſwer he could wiſh for; being told that he might ſafely, and without danger propoſe what we deſir'd, to the Emperour. Theſe few words did not only free the *Tartar Manderine* from his doubts, but made him active in the buſineſs; being very willing to embrace any occaſion of pleaſing his Maſter. Now whilſt we were labouring with him to do our Petition into the *Tartar* Language, the Emperour went with his Court to viſit the River *Yum Tim Ho*. But this accident, which ſeem'd Inconvenient, turn'd rather to the beſt: For the *Tartar Manderin* being left at home, and being at leiſure during the Prince's abſence; he did our Petition out of the *Chineſe* Paper, containing only the chief heads of what was to be propos'd, into the *Tartar* Tongue.

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The Emperour return'd on the 28th of *November*, and no opportunity preſenting it ſelf the following day, on the 30th of the ſame Month, being St. *Andrew*'s Day, Five Fathers of the Society met at the Palace, *viz. F. Philippe Grimaldi*, Rector of the College, *F. Thomas Pereyra*, *F. Antony Thomas*, *F. John Gerbillon*, and *F. Joachim Bouvet*; and in the name of all the Fathers reſiding at *Pekin*, preſented their Petition to the Emperour by two Court *Mandarins*, Namely, *Heskin*, and his Companion *Cham Cham Chu*; it was the 20th day of the 10th Moon, and the 39th Year of the Reign of the Emperour *Kam Hi*. In his preſence they ſpoke as follows in our Name.

'That we had reciev'd Letters out of *Europe*, 'by which we underſtood, that they were well 'acquainted there, with what Fame had ſpread 'far and near, concerning the admirable Magna-'nimity, Wiſdom, perfect Underſtanding of 'Books, and admirable Learning, in which his '*Chineſe* Majeſty excell'd: But the Learned there 'not underſtanding the meaning of the *Chineſe* 'Rites and Sacrifices, they deſir'd us to ſend 'them an Explanation of them. But becauſe 'theſe Rites belong to the Guſtoms of the Em-'pire, and we doubt whether or no we have ex-'actly expreſt its ſenſe in relation to them; we 'durſt not rely upon the Anſwer we deſign'd to 'give them, unleſs approv'd of by his Majeſty, 'whom we therefore intreated to inſtruct us con-'cerning them.

The Emperour having heard this Account of the buſineſs, took and perus'd attentively our Petition in the chief Hall of his Palace, call'd *Kien Cim Cum*, about Eight in the Morning. The Contents were as follows.

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§. II.

The Petition offer'd to the Emperour Kam Hi, *on the 30th of* November, 1700. *in which certain Rites and Cuſtoms of the* Chineſe, *are Explain'd in the ſame ſenſe, in which the Society hath hitherto allow'd the practice of them.*

ALtho' the Learn'd Men of *Europe* have heard of the Rites, by which the *Chineſe* honour *Heaven*, *Confucius*, and their deceas'd Parents; yet not knowing to what theſe Rites tend, they have Written to us in the following terms.

'Whereas the Benignity and Munificence of 'the Great Emperour of *China* has reach'd all 'Countries, and the Fame of his admirable Wiſ-'dom hath been ſpread thro' all Kingdoms, it 'ſeems certain to us, that the Rites and Cuſtoms 'in uſe amongſt his People, muſt be grounded on 'ſome weighty reaſons; wherefore we deſire 'you would ſend an exact and diſtinct account of 'them. We anſwer as follows.

'When

'When the *Chineſe* honour *Confucius*, their 'deſign is to expreſs their Reverence towards 'him for the Doctrine deliver'd to them, which 'ſince they reciev'd from him; how can they do 'otherwiſe than return him due Honour for it, 'by bended Knees, and Heads bow'd down to 'the Ground? This is the true ſence and reaſon 'which moves the *Chineſe* Empire to Eſteem and 'Reverence *Confucius*, in Quality of its Maſter; 'and the genuine ſenſe and meaning of the reſpect 'this Nation pays him, by which they never de-'ſign to beg of him Wit, a clear Underſtanding, 'or Preferment. The Ceremonies perform'd by 'them towards their deceas'd Parents and Rela-'tions, are only us'd by them as Teſtimonies, of 'the Love and Reverence they owe them, and as 'greatful acknowledgments towards the Heads of 'their Families. For this intent, the Ancient 'Emperours preſcrib'd certain Solemn Rites, by 'which the Dead are to be Honour'd at certain 'Seaſons, *viz.* in Summer and Winter; as well 'Parents by their Children, as other near Rela-'tions and Friends, by thoſe, who upon account 'of Kindred, or Friendſhip, were particularly 'United to them. Now the Sole end and deſign 'of this Inſtitution, was to Eſtabliſh a method of 'expreſſing their great Love and Affection to-'wards them, as far as it could poſſibly be ex-'preſt.

'We ſay that the Sacrifices which the Ancient 'Kings and Emperours us'd to offer to Heaven, 'are the ſame with thoſe which the *Chineſe* Philo-'ſophers call *Kiao Xe*, that is, Sacrifices offer'd 'to Heaven and Earth, by which they ſay, that '*Xam Ti*, or the Supreme Lord of Heaven and

'Earth

'Earth is Worſhipped. Upon this account the 'Inſcription, before which theſe Sacrifices are 'offer'd, contains theſe words, *Xam Ti*, that is 'to the Supreme Lord. Hence it is evident that 'theſe Sacrifices are not directed to the viſible 'and material Heaven, but to the ſupreme Lord 'and Maſter of Heaven and Earth, and all things 'elſe, whom when thro' reſpect they forbear to 'call by his proper name, they ſtile the Supreme 'Heaven, the Beneficial Heaven, the Univerſal 'Heaven, *&c.* which figurative expreſſion they 'frequeutly uſe in relation to the Emperour him-'ſelf, when out of reverence to him they omit that 'Title, and uſe theſe expreſſions, *beneath the 'ſteps of his Throne*; *the chief Hall of his Pa-'lace*, &c. which expreſſions, tho' different as to 'words, ſignify the ſelf ſame thing.

'Hence is alſo evident, that the Writing his 'Majeſty honour'd us with, in which he Wrote 'with his own hand, *Kiem Tien*, worſhip Heaven 'bears no other ſenſe than the mention'd. We 'Externs, and your Majeſty's Subjects not being 'well vers'd in theſe Rites, and not knowing 'how far this expoſition of the *Chineſe* cuſtom is 'conſonant to Truth, humbly beg your Majeſty 'will pleaſe to impart to us your Royal Inſtruc-'tions, and correct this our Anſwer, in caſe it be 'found to differ from the true ſenſe and meaning 'of the *Chineſe* Nation.. This expoſition of the *Chineſe* Rites having been Read, and attentively conſider'd, the Emperour gave the following An-ſwer in the *Tartar* Tongue.

'The

'The Contents of this Writing are well Writ-
'ten, and agree perfectly with the great Doctrine.
'All Nations in the World lie under an obligation
'of paying due reſpect and reverence to Heaven,
'their Rulers, Parents, Maſters, and Anceſtors.
'The Contents of this Paper are exactly true, and
'want no correction at all.

The two mention'd *Mandarins* coming out from the Emperour, in conſequence to the orders they had reciev'd, intimated this decree in a Juridical form, in the preſence of many in the Inner Court of the Imperial Palace, joyning to the Inner Hall *Tam Sim Tien*, and one Copy of it was deliver'd to us, and an other put amongſt the Royal Acts.

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§. III.

An Account of what enſued upon the Promulgation of this Decree.

THis Imperial Decree was reciev'd with great Applauſe, many being ſurpriz'd, that any Learn'd Men of *Europe* ſhould imagine that thoſe of *China* did acknowledge, or reverence in *Confucius* any thing beyond the dignity of their Maſter, and that of a Man eminent for his Learning; or that they paid him, or the deceas'd any other than meer civil or political Honour. Others ſaying (amongſt whom was *Van Tao Hoa*, a Courtier of eminent Learning) that they Worſhiped nothing depriv'd of Life, as the Material Heavens were: But the Supreme Lord of them,

and

and all things elſe, who ſees all, underſtands all, and governs all by his Providence: That it was ſo evident, that this was the ſenſe of the Ancient Philpſophers, above all of *Confucius* himſelf, that no Man could deny it, without oppoſing the known truth. Others exclaiming what each Houſe and Family hath its Maſter, and every Kingdom and Empire their Supreme Lord, who Rules them; and ſhall their not be one for the World, who governs it by his Providence, and rules it by his Juſtice? Amongſt theſe *Siu lao ye*, one of the Members of the Royal College. *Hum Lin Yuen*, a Man of extraordinary Learning and Wit, and therefore choſen by the Emperour to Tranſlate the *European Algebra* into *Chineſe*.

The Preſident of the Tribunal of *Mathematicks*, *Philippe Grimaldi*, *Thomas Pereyra*, *Antony Thomas*, *John Gesbillon*, and the other *Europeans* Petition'd the Emperour in the following manner. 'We your extern Subjects entreat your 'Majeſty to Inſtruct us in ſome points. The Learned Men of *Europe* have heard, that it is cuſtomary in *China* to reverence *Confucius*, offer Sacrifice to Heaven, and make Offerings to the 'Deceas'd, but do not underſtand the meaning of 'theſe Rites: They deſire to have an Account of 'it. We your Majeſty's Subjects believe that '*Confucius* is Worſhipped in Quality of a Maſter, and not in order to obtain of him Wit, 'Proſperity, or Preferment. We look upon offerings to be made to the Deceas'd, in order only to teſtifie the love the Living bear them, and 'their deſire of them, and that it is neither conſonant to the *Chineſe* Books, or the ſenſe of the

'Learned

'Learned, to beg their Protection: Theſe Ceremonies being only Teſtimonies of the affections 'of the Living towards the Dead, and deſtin'd 'to renew the memory of them. We add alſo 'that the Inſcriptions uſually erected on theſe 'occaſions, are not made uſe of on account of 'their being perſuaded, that the Souls of the 'Dead do reſide there; but to ſupply and ſtand 'for the perſons of the Deceas'd. As for the Sacrifices offer'd to Heaven, we conceive that 'what is Worſhipt by them, is not the dark 'blew Heaven, but the Maker and Lord of it, and 'all things elſe. For *Confucius* ſays, that the Sacrifices, call'd *Kiao Xe*, are directed to *Xam Ti*; or the Supreme Lord of Heaven, who is 'ſometimes call'd Heaven, as the Emperour is 'ſometimes expreſt not by that Name, but by 'theſe Titles, *beneath the ſteps of his Throne*; '*the chief Hall of his Palace*; which expreſſions, 'tho' different, as to the words, import the ſelf-'ſame thing. Your Majeſty was heretofore 'pleas'd to honour us with theſe words in your 'own hand Writing, *Kiem Tièn*, i. e. Heaven is 'to be Worſhipped, which we underſtand in the 'ſenſe we have now expounded.

'We your Majeſty's Subjects, not being well 'vers'd in theſe matters, have Anſwer'd in this 'manner; but becauſe theſe Ceremonies belong 'to the Publick Rites of this Nation, we dare 'not rely on our private Authority: We there-'fore intreat your Majeſty to inſtruct us in them; 'and expect with due reverence and ſubmiſſion 'your Commands. Then follows the Emperours Anſwer, as at the end of the ſecond Section.

This

This Relation was ſent from Court thro' all the Provinces of the Empire. 'Tis to be obſerv'd, that in the Tranſlation of it, the word *Ti* is render'd by Sacrifice, when apply'd to Heaven; and by offering, when apply'd to the Dead. The reaſon of this difference is the various ſignifications of this Word, which are effectually different in the mention'd caſes. As in the Latine Tongue, the word *Adorare* has a different ſenſe when apply'd to God, from what it hath, when the Scripture ſays, that *Joſeph*'s Brothers ador'd him. Now that this word *Ti* apply'd to the Dead, doth not import a proper Sacrifice offer'd to them, is evident by the Emperour's Declaration.

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§. IV.

The Effects which may be hop'd for from this Declaration.

THE Promulgation of this Imperial Decree may prove very beneficial to this Kingdom. For the Emperour's power being very abſolute he alone Eſtabliſhing Laws for his People, and interpreting thoſe which are Eſtabliſht; all his diciſions relating to the Cuſtoms of the Empire, are of great force with his Subjects. In the firſt place, it will prove a ſtrong Argument againſt Atheiſts; and upon account of the repute, this Prince is in for his Learning and Wiſdom, a very apt means to wean them from Atheiſm, and prevail on them to acknowledge the exiſtence of an intelli-

intelligent *Being*; by whom all that is, was Created, and is Govern'd. Frequent experience ſhews that bare dint of reaſon can eaſily prevail on them to acknowledge this Truth, tho' they do not act in conſequence to it. Now thoſe ſame reaſons backt by an Authority of this moment, will prove much more forceable. 'Tis moreover obſervable, that many Learn'd Men of this Nation, who in their Diſcourſe and Writing affect to appear Athieſts, do not not laſh out into theſe extravagancies upon a full ſettled Perſuaſion of the not *Being* of a God, but out of inmate Pride of this Nation, which inclines them to diſtinguiſh themſelves with ſuch Paradoxes. 'Tis very clear, that by their comments and gloſſes on the Ancients, they aim more at the repute of Wits, than at Truth, affecting to reduce all ſenſible effects and accidents to known natural cauſes, without recourſe to the Supreme Being. This attempt is alſo in vogue among our *European* Philoſophers, as far at leaſt as its conſiſtant with Divine Faith. And but to too many ſlighting the ſolid Doctrine of the Ancients, and more effectually charm'd with a flaſh of Wit, and a great Name, than with Truth it ſelf, intrench by affected ſubtilties on the bounds ſet by divine Revelation; which when they once paſs, tranſported by an over eager deſire of Praiſe and Credit; 'tis not at all ſurpriſing, that they fall into groſs and palpable errors; and promote Atheiſm both by Diſcourſe and Writing. The Emperour of *China* towards the end of the laſt Year, gave a very exact Character of thoſe his Subjects, who are of this unhappy Temper, ſaying, 'That the 'Comments and Gloſſes, by which Moderns

'pretend

'pretended to give a new luſtre to the Writings 'of the Ancients were only now ſubtilties and flo- 'riſhes of Rhetorick, by which they affected to 'ſhew their Wit, and Eloquence.

Now this ſort of Atheiſm being very rife in this Empire, and the corruptions and falſe gloſſes on the Ancient Rites of this Nation, rather taking their riſe from an affectation of Subtilty, and an exceſs of Pride, than from a belief of what thoſe Libertins advance: By means of this Decree they may eaſily be prevail'd on to renounce their true or feign'd Atheiſm. Since its Promulgation thro' the Empire, is an effectual Preaching of the exigence of the true God; which certainly muſt have no ſmall effect on the minds of many *Manderins*, Learn'd Men, and others, to whoſe knowledge it will be conveigh'd by means of the publick News-Books.

Finally, It will ſtand upon Record, in Quality of a ſolemn Proteſtation made by the Church of *China*, in view of the whole Empire, and approv'd by the Emperour himſelf, by which the Chriſtians of thoſe parts declare, that in conſequence to the Laws of the Kingdom explicated by the Emperour himſelf, they practiſe the mention'd Rites towards *Confucius* and the Dead; not as Religious Duties, but in Quality of meer Civil and Political Ceremonies, renouncing all ſuperſtitious Intentions and Practices, which as the Emperour declares, belong not to their Primitive Inſtitution, but have inſenſibly crept in by length of time, and the blindneſs and propenſion of Mankind to Idolatry.

§. V.

§. V.

Teſtimonies of many Eminent for their Dignities and Learning in the Chineſe *Empire, agreeing with the Emperour's Decree in Relation to the ſenſe and meaning of the Rites in Queſtion.*

THis clear and diſtinct Declaration of the Emperour ought in reaſon to be look'd upon as ſufficient to evince, that the *Chineſe* Rites, which are the ſubject of the preſent Diſpute, are only Civil Duties, for it belongs to him alone in quality of Supreme Legiſlator, and Interpreter of the Laws of the Empire to determine the ſenſe and meaning of them: And his preſent Declaration ſeems to leave no further doubt concerning that point. However for a further clearing of this Truth, and leaſt any thing ſhould ſeem wanting on our part, it was thought expedient to know their Sentiment concerning theſe cuſtoms, who are at preſent in greateſt repute in this Empire, as well on account of their great Dignities, as their eminent skill in the *Chineſe* Literature. And to the end theſe Authentical Teſtimonies may not be queſtion'd in after times; they are kept in Archives of the College of *Pekin*; partly Sign'd and Seal'd by thoſe who gave them; partly made good by the authentical Teſtimonies of thoſe who reciev'd them by word of mouth only; when it was not judg'd expedient to demand them in Writing

from perſons of that eminent Dignity and Character, whom they conſulted.

The firſt ſhall be of a Prince in great repute in this Court, the preſent Emperours Younger Brother, who is now about Forty Years Old; and who as being neither addicted to Hunting, nor the other Entertainments, which Princes generally delight in, has imploy'd his time in Reading, and Studies. One of the Fathers went to pay his reſpects to him on the Second day of *May*, 1701, in order to know his ſentiment concerning the *Chineſe* Rites. Being admitted to Audience, and order'd to ſit down; the Prince's Four Sons ſtanding over againſt their Father. After ſeveral Queſtions propos'd by the Prince relating to different matters, and his obliging, ſhewing the Father a Map of the World, Accuratly and Ingeniouſly drawn on a Fann by the Prince himſelf: The Father offer'd to his peruſal an Expoſition of the *Chineſe* Rites in the *Tartar* Tongue, and ſelf-ſame words, it had been preſented to the Emperour. The Prince Read it attentively, and approv'd of it. And then added, That the Ancient *Chineſe* were free from all ſuperſtitious Worſhip, which in proceſs of time had crept in by degrees; that they Ador'd only *Xam Ti*, or the Supreme, and Living Lord of Heaven; that by that Name, as alſo by the word *Heaven* they meant the ſame Creator, and Governor of the Univerſe, whom Chriſtians Ador'd under the Name of the Lord of Heaven, and that to him alone they offer'd Sacrifice. He gave great encomiums of Father *Riccius* his Books, which Treat of the Exiſtence of God: He had reciev'd them ſome few Months before in the

the *Tartar* Language, and afterwards procur'd them in *Chineſe*. Theſe ſame Books were alſo highly prais'd by the preſumptive Heir of the Empire in preſence of ſeveral Fathers of the Society. Now in theſe Books, F. *Riccius* undertakes to prove by Texes of the *Chineſe* Authors, that the Ancient *Chineſe* by *Xam Ti* meant, and Ador'd not the Material Heavens, but the True God and Lord of Heaven and Earth.

The Emperour further added, That the Moral Precepts of *Confucius* agreed with thoſe the Chriſtian Law preſcrib'd, in which he is well verſt: That this Philoſopher only Explain'd thoſe which related to this Life, without mentioning that which is to follow; becauſe he found it ſo difficult a task to gain belief to what he Taught, in relation to what is ſenſible, and preſent; that he thought Men would never be prevail'd with, to aſſent to what concern'd things which did not fall under their ſenſes. Finally, after many Queſtions concerning Angels, Devils, ſeparate Souls, Prayers for the Dead, and other matters belonging to Religion; concerning which he Heard, the Father Diſcourſe near two hours, his Sons ſtanding all the while, he diſmiſs'd him with as obliging Teſtimonies, as he had reciev'd him with Honour.

The ſecond Teſtimony ſhall be that we had from the Illuſtrious *So San Lao Ye*, who was for Ten Years *Colao*, or firſt Miniſter of the Empire, then Preſident of the Tribunal of Rites, and at preſent Commands the Emperour's Guards, and is one of his Chief Counſellers. This is he, who was Choſen in the Year 92, of the laſt Age, to prevail upon the Tribunals of Rites, and the *Co-*

Ian's to grant by a publick Edict free Liberty to the Christian Religion, towards which he was well affected; and he manag'd the busines so dexterously, that he obtain'd it.

This Eminent Man being consulted on the First of *April*, 1701, by two of the Society concerning the meaning of the *Chinese* Rites, gave this Answer. 'I will very willingly declare to you 'the Truth of this business, and what has always 'been the sense of the wisest Men among 'us. *Confucius* was a Man of Eminent Probity, 'and Learning; he has left us excellent Precepts 'for the Regulating our Lives, the Governing our 'Families, and the Empire it self; and on that 'account he is Honour'd, as a Man of Exemplar 'Probity and Eminent Wisdom: He neither was 'in himself, nor is acknowledg'd by us to be 'more than Man. The Worship which is Paid 'him, and the Ceremonies us'd in it, are of a different nature from those, by which Spirits and 'Idols are Worship'd. Neither do we by these 'Ceremonies, which are only Testimonies of our 'Respect and Gratitude towards our Master, either ask, or hope any help or happiness from him. Being ask'd, if their were not some, who believ'd that the Soul of *Confucius* did Reside, or at least Descend down to the Inscriptions, before which these Rites were perform'd; he rejected this fancy very warmly, and said with some Indignation: 'Far be it from the grave Doctrine 'to admit of such manners of speaking; to be 'met with only amongst the Illiterate, and Corrupters of the *Chinese* Laws, or of such Practices 'no ways aggreeable to the sense and apprehension of wise Men.

Then

Then being entreated to deliver his Opinion concerning the Ceremonies us'd towards the Dead. He Anſwer'd, 'That they were not Wor-'ſhiped by the Underſtanding part of the Na-'tion as Idols, and Spirits; but Honour'd in a 'Civil and Political way; that nothing was ei-'ther askt, or hop'd for from them; that the 'ſole and only end of all the Solemn Rites us'd 'on ſuch occaſions, as frequent inclinations of 'the Body, preſenting of Meats, burning of 'Perfumes, and other Offerings; was, that by 'theſe exteriour Ceremonies, their Poſterity 'might expreſs their Love, and gratitude to them, 'and longing deſire of them, as if they were really 'preſent to recieve theſe Teſtimonies of their 'Love, and Reſpect; and that the Inſcriptions, 'before which theſe Ceremonies were perform'd, 'were plac'd there on no other account. He moreover added, 'That what he had ſaid con-'cerning the Honours paid to *Confucius*, could 'neither be Oppos'd or Queſtion'd by any Man, 'unleſs he betray'd his Ignorance, and was guilty 'of Hereſy, againſt the Doctrine of the Lear-'ned.

Finally, being deſir'd to let us underſtand what was the genuine meaning of *Xam Ti*, and Heaven, concerning whoſe Worſhip, and Invo-cation the Learned of *China*, treat ſo fuſely: He ſaid, 'The Learned Men of *China*, when 'they Treat of the Worſhip, and Invocation of 'Heaven, do not mean by the word *Tien*, the Ma-'terial and Viſible Heaven; but *Xam Ti*, or the 'Supreme Lord of Heaven, Creator of all Things, 'the Fountain of all Good, and Maſter of the 'Univerſe, who Sees, Hears, and Governs all

'Things, in a word the ſelf-ſame, whom we Chriſtians Adore under the Name of *Tien Chu*, or Lord of Heaven. Then he added, 'That 'when he was ſent by the Emperour's Command 'to prevail in the Tribunal of Rites, and the '*Colao's* to grant a free Liberty for the Exer-'ciſe of Chriſtian Religion; from which 'ſeveral were Averſe; he inſiſted chiefly on 'this Reaſon; to bring them over to it. 'That we Adore the ſame Lord, which *China* 'had Worſhipt from time out of mind, and that 'it was evident that the Supreme Lord of all 'Things was the ſelf-ſame, whom we *Europeans* 'call'd *Tien Chu*, whom their Philoſophers and 'Wiſe Men Ador'd under the Name of *Tien*, 'and *Xam Ti*.

Now this ſame Eminent Perſon having frequently been near the Emperour's Perſon, when he offer'd Sacrifice in the Temples, *Tien Tun*, and *Ti Tan*, that are Dedicated to Heaven and Earth; or to ſpeak more properly, to the Supreme Lord of both; as it appears very evidently by the Inſcriptions Grav'd on their Frontiſpieces; and that which is expreſs'd, when Sacrifice is offer'd, which ſhall be mention'd in their due place; and having been alſo deputed by the Emperour to offer Sacrifice in his Name, in the Temples mention'd: We entreated him to give us ſome account of theſe Temples, and Sacrifices. In theſe Temples, and Sacrifices, ſays he, 'There 'is nothing that ſavours of Superſtition, no-'thing that borders on Idolatry; there is neither 'Statue, nor Painted Image; nothing in fine but 'this Inſcription, *Xam Ti*, or Supreme Lord of 'Heaven. Neither is any thing contain'd in the 'Solemn Invocation Read, a lowd in the Emper-

'our's

'our's Name, whilſt he Sacrifices, beſides a Pray'
'er, and Addreſſed to the Supreme Lord of Hea'
'ven, containing a demand of all ſuch things, as
'ſeem neceſſary for the publick Happineſs, and
'Tranquillity of the Empire.

Upon this concluding of his Diſcourſe, the Fathers offer'd to his peruſal the above mention'd Expoſition of the *Chineſe* Rites, which had been preſented to the Emperour, which he peruſed, and ſaid to each Article contain'd in it; 'This is
'exactly ſo, this agrees perfectly with what I
'told you; this is the Genuine ſenſe of the *Chi*-
'*neſe* Rites very accuratly expreſt.

The Third Teſtimony ſhall be, that which we had from *Mim Lao Ye*, a Man no ways Inferior, either in Dignity or Authority, and as well affected towards its Preachers, as his Colleague, whom we ſpoak of laſt. He was firſt Colao, or Miniſter of the Empire for Fifteen Years; at preſent he is of the Emperour's Council, and one of the chief Men at Court. In his younger Years, on account of his eminent skill in the *Chineſe* and *Tartar* Tongues; he was made Prefect of the Royal Library by the Emperour *Xum Chi*, and imploy'd in Tranſlating the *Chineſe* Books into *Tartar*. So that by reaſon of the great Repute he is in at Court, on account of his eminent Learning, and great Authority, he is known and reſpected thro' the whole extent of the Empire.

Two of the Fathers went on the 21th of *April*, 1701, to know his ſentiment concerning the cuſtom'd Honours paid to Heaven, *Confucius*, and the Dead. His Anſwers agreed perfectly with thoſe of his Colleague, and differ'd only in

ſome few words. He frequently inculcated, that the Learned did not acknowledge the leaſt ſhadow of Divinity, or any power more than Humane in *Confucius*, or the Dead, that they neither pretended, or hop'd any thing from them. He was ſurpriz'd to hear that ſome in *Europe* imagin'd, that the Learn'd *Chineſe* Worſhiped *Confucius*, or the Dead, as Idols, and Spirits, which they conciev'd endow'd with Power to benefit them, and could not forbear laughing at their ſimplicity, and reproaching it to them, as highly Injurious to the Wiſdom of the *Chineſe*. He further added, 'That the publick Buildings 'Erected to *Confucius*, and their deceas'd Anceſtors, were only Teſtimonies of their gratitude and reſpect towards them, towards *Confucius* in Quality of their Maſter; on account of his having reſtor'd the Precepts neceſſary to live up to the light of Reaſon, and eſtabliſh excellent Rules for the Government of the Empire, towards their Anceſtors, on the account of having reciev'd from them their Life and Education. He repeated over and over again, 'That no Man skill'd in the great Doctrine, could ſay, or believe, that the Souls of *Confucius*, or the Dead, reſided in, or deſcended down to the Inſcriptions *Xin Guey*, before which theſe Ceremonies were perform'd; that theſe were placed there on no other deſign, but to ſtand for, and ſupply the place of the Dead, and raiſe a more lively remembrance of them.

His Anſwers to our Queſtions concerning the words *Tien*, and *Xam Ti*, agreed perfectly with thoſe his Companion had given. *viz.* 'The Learn'd *Chineſe* had from time out of mind, meant and Wor-

Worſhip'd under thoſe Names, the Supreme Lord of Heaven, and Earth, endow'd with underſtanding, and no ways different from the true God, whom we Chriſtians call *Tien Chu*, and whom he had lately Ador'd in our Church. Then he told us, that in the Perſecution, which was rais'd by *Tam Quam Sien* in the Year 1664, in which he himſelf was concern'd, and an Eye-Witneſs of what paſs'd; a great Aſſembly of the Princes, and chief Perſons of the Empire were of the ſame Opinion, and had certainly pronounc'd in favour of the Chriſtian Religion, had not this Impious Accuſer of the Chriſtians, ſeeing how ill he was like to ſucceed, produc'd an Image of Chriſt Crucify'd, which he ſaid the Chriſtians Ador'd, as Supreme Lord of all things; which in this Aſſembly of *Gentils*, who know little of the Chriſtian Religion, rais'd a ſuſpicion againſt it, as ſavouring of Superſtition, and dangerous Novelty. On this occaſion it will not be unſeaſonable to remark; how notoriouſly the Society was defam'd by ſome at *Rome*, who charg'd it with concealing the Miſtery of Chriſt Crucify'd: Since this Accuſer produc'd at that time againſt it, as a known and publick Crime, a Picture of Chriſt Crucify'd, which he had taken out of our Books, and caus'd to be Grav'd, and ſpread abroad, in order to cover us with ſhame and confuſion.

Being finally conſulted about the Rites and Sacrifices us'd in the Temples *Tien Ti*, and *Ti Tan*; at which he had frequently aſſiſted near the Emperour's perſon; and ſometimes offer'd in his name: His Anſwer agreed with thoſe of the preſent Teſtimonies, *viz.* that in theſe two

two Temples, tho' different as to place and name, the ſame Supreme Lord of Heaven and Earth was Ador'd; that the difference of place and building of theſe Temples, was only introduc'd by the Emperour *Hia Cim* of the Family *Tai Mim*, who began his Reign in 1522, before whom there was only one *Tian Tan* (that is in *Pekin* under that Family) in which *Xam Ti*, or the Supreme Lord of Heaven and Earth, Sun, Moon, and Stars, and all things elſe was Ador'd.

This Diſcourſe being ended, the Emperour's Declaration was offer'd him; after he had attentively perus'd it; you ſee, ſays he, how exactly I have explicated to you the true ſenſe of theſe Rites; and how, what I ſaid agrees with this Declaration; it never enter'd into the head of the Learned, and well verſt in the great Doctrine, to imagine that *Confucius*, or the Dead had any power to beſtow beneſits on us, or to demand, or hope any thing from them, or that their Souls were really preſent in the Inſcriptions hung up on ſuch occaſions; who is the Author of theſe Dreams? Theſe Rites and Ceremonies were inſtituted to no other end, than to expreſs our reſpect and gratitude towards the Dead, and Abſent; as tho' they were preſent. This is the genuine ſenſe of our Books; where the Text has not *Ti Ti*, that is, *that they are preſent*; but *Piſire adali*, as if they were preſent; for he ſpoak in the *Tartar*, and not in the *Chineſe* Tongue.

The Fourth Teſtimony of this Truth ſhall be, that we reciev'd from *Y Stanha*, who has now for Fourteen Years been Colao, or firſt Miniſter:

Miniſter : This Man was Son to a common Souldier, but ſo ſucceſsful in his Studies, that he is riſen by degrees from the loweſt degree of Magiſtrature, to the Supreme, which he performs with great Applauſe. He is ſo much valued by the Emperour, that tho' his great Age hath frequently oblig'd him to Petition his diſcharge, he has never been able to obtain it. This eminent Man, who for ſeveral Years was Preſident of the Tribunal of Rites, was on the 28th of *May* 1701, deſir'd by two Fathers to deliver his own, and the Learned mens ſenſe concerning the Rites in Queſtion. Firſt he deſir'd to be inform'd on what account this Queſtion was put to him. He was told, that 'twas on no other motive, than in order to have a right underſtanding of them from him; than whom, the whole Empire ſcarce furniſht any man more skilful in them. Since from his tender Age he had been addicted to Studies, and without any help, than that of his Learning, and dexterity in managing buſineſs; he had paſs'd thro' all the different degrees of Magiſtrature, and finally had attain'd that of chief Miniſter : That ſome doubts had been ſtarted in *Europe* concerning the meaning of theſe Ceremonies; whither they deſir'd to ſend a true account of them. Having heard that this was the occaſion of his being conſulted; he ſaid, thoſe Ceremonies were only us'd as Teſtimonies of gratitude and reſpect; and added no more. Then the Fathers preſented him the expoſition of thoſe Rites, which had been offer'd to the Emperour, but without any mention of the Anſwer they had reciev'd from him : They further added; that by *Tien*, or *Xam Ti*, it

it was not meant, that the Learn'd Ador'd the Material Heavens; but a ſpiritual Being endow'd with reaſon and underſtanding, to whom it belong'd to reward Good, and puniſh Evil. He Read this Expoſition over and over, made ſome pauſe, and conſider'd with moſt attention what was ſaid concerning the underſtanding of this Supreme Being, and the rewarding good, and puniſhing Evil: Then giving the Writing back to the Fathers, he ſaid, it's ſo as you have Explicated it: You have explain'd theſe Rites very clearly, and in their true ſenſe and meaning. Tho' this Anſwer ſeem'd ſufficient, as to all contain'd in that Expoſition; notwithſtanding they inquir'd further, if any thing more than Humane was believ'd to be in *Confucius*, or the Dead? If any thing was deſir'd, or hop'd for from them? If the Learn'd believ'd that the Soul of *Confucius*, or the Dead, reſided in the Inſcriptions expos'd on thoſe occaſions, or deſcended down to them, or were fed with the Fumes of thoſe Meats which were offer'd? He rejected theſe fancies with a ſmile, and ſaid, 'how 'can they believe ſuch things? And if any Ad-'dreſs'd their Prayers to them, would they there-'fore obtain what they deſir'd? All our Cere-'monies are only Teſtimonies of gratitude to-'wards the Maſter of the Empire, and thoſe 'from whom we reciev'd our Lives. This was the Anſwer given by this Colao, a Man of great Authority, and the firſt who Subſcrib'd the Decree, by which, Liberty was granted to the Chriſtian Religion.

The

The Fifth Teſtimony ſhall be that, which on account of his Nobility and Authority who gave it, might deſerve the firſt place, who had it from the Succeſſour of *Confucius*, who is at preſent head of the Family, which has for many Years poſſeſs'd a large Principality in the Province *Xam Tum*; where the Philoſophers Sepulcher is, and where his Deſcendents reſide in the Ancient Seat of their Family. Now this Man muſt be well skill'd in the Honours done to *Confucius*, Living on the place where the Emperours themſelves perform them to him. Neither can he in reaſon be ſuſpected to be wanting in his endeavours to keep them up to their hight; ſince the reſpects paid to the chief perſon of his Family, do in no ſmall meaſure redound to his Credit.

On his coming to Court this Year on the Emperour's Birth-Day, two Fathres ask'd his Opinion of the Expoſition of the *Chineſe* Rites, which had been preſented to the Emperour: After he had perus'd it, he Anſwer'd by a Writing Sign'd and Seal'd by him in theſe words. I have ſeen your Anſwer to the *Europeans* concerning the Rites of this Kingdom, *viz.* That *Confucius* is Honour'd on account of his Doctrine, and not in order to obtain Proſperity or Protection from him: 'Tis truly ſo; you have Alledg'd the true motive of theſe Rites.

The Sixth Teſtimony we had from the *Chineſe* Colao *Vam hi*, a Man Famous thro' the Empire for his Learning and Prudence; and who for this Twenty Years has been Colao; being askt his Opinion of the Rites

in

in Queſtion; he Anſwer'd by a Writing Sign'd and Seal'd by him in theſe terms. 'I have ſeen 'your Writing expoſing the *Chineſe* Rites; you 'have clearly and diſtinctly laid open the true 'and genuin ſenſe, in which the Learn'd and 'Wiſe *Chineſe* Worſhip Heaven, their Deceas'd 'Anceſtors, and their Maſter. The Decree which the Emperour has Publiſht according to the Laws of the Empire, concerning this Expoſition of them, agrees perfectly with the Doctrine of *Confucius*.

The Seventh Teſtimony was given by an other *Chineſe*, Famous for his Learning, Nam'd *Cham Ym*: He for many Years Taught the Emperour and his Children the *Chineſe* Tongue; was for many more Preſident of the Tribunal of Rites, and has now been for ſome Years Colao. Being deſir'd to give his Opinion of our Expoſition of the *Chineſe* Rites; he return'd this Anſwer, Sign'd and Seal'd by him. 'I have 'ſeen a Copy of a Letter, which the *Europeans* 'reſiding here have Written to their Friends 'there; and I obſerv'd in it a clear and true 'Expoſition of the motives, which induc'd us 'to offer Sacrifices to Heaven, and uſe thoſe Ce'remonies, by which we Honour Men eminent 'for their Virtue; and our Deceas'd Anceſtors; 'and hence I perceiv'd the ſaid *Europeans* ſo well 'verſt in our *Claſſick* Authors; that they have 'been able to diſtinguiſh Truth from Error, 'and attain the moſt abſtruſe and ſublime ſenſe 'of them. Nay their Sentiment perfectly a'grees with the Rites and Practices preſcrib'd 'by our moſt wiſe Anceſtors. So for the entire ſatisfaction of thoſe to whom they Write;

'tis

'tis only neceſſary to deſire them to Read over their Anſwer approv'd by the Emperour; for that contains all that can in reaſon be deſir'd, for the perfect underſtanding of theſe Rites and Ceremonies.

The Eighth Teſtimony was given by a Man, who may in reaſon be lookt on, as the Learned'ſt Man in the Empire, call'd *Han*; he is at preſent Preſident of the Tribunal, Compos'd of the chief Doctors of this Kingdom, choſen by the Emperour himſelf, after a very rigorous examine. This Tribunal is call'd *Ham Lin Tuen*, and is of very great Authority in this Empire. He is alſo Preſident of the Tribunal of the Rites, and Famous for his Learning. This eminent Man having perus'd the Expoſition of the *Chineſe* Rites, which had been preſented to the Emperour, in order to be ſent into *Europe*, gave his ſenſe of it, in a Writing Sign'd and Seal'd by him in theſe words. 'They have attain'd the 'true and genuine ſenſe of the chief Heads of 'the *Chineſe* Doctrine, relating to the Worſhip 'of *Xam Ti*, and the Ceremonies by which we Ho-'nour our Deceas'd Anceſtors, and our Maſter; for 'on the peruſal of the Declaration of them, 'which they ſend to their Friends in *Europe*: I 'obſerv'd it to agree perfectly with the Doctrine 'of our Anceſtors, and the ſublime and excellent 'ſenſe of our *Claſſick* Books. Some other Doctors of this ſame Supreme Tribunal, to whom belongs all that relates to Learning, and the Interpretation of their Claſſical Authors have given the ſame, or equivalent Teſtimonies under their Hands and Seals.

The

The Ninth Teſtimony we had from him who in the Tribunal of Rites, is next in Dignity to the Preſident, and of great Authority among the Doctors, who are Members of it: His Name is *Sun*; he is at preſent Keeper of the Royal Library, and Preſident of the Tribunal, to which the Regulating and Interpreting of the Ceremonies relating to *Confucius*, doth appertain. One of the Society going on the Firſt of the Third Moon of this Year 1701, into the Hall of the great Seminary of *Confucius* Erected at *Pekin*, call'd *Gue cu Kien*, which is the chief of all Erected thro' this Empire, to this Philoſopher: He met there the Preſident of the place, and Ceremonies uſually perform'd towards *Confucius*, call'd *Sun Lao Ye*; and being askt by him on what account he came; he Anſwer'd, 'That 'he came thither on purpoſe to be inform'd by 'him, who was ſo well verſt in the *Chineſe* Rites, 'and Preſident of that place: What was the 'ſenſe of the Learn'd *Chineſe* concerning the 'Worſhip of Heaven, *Confucius*, and their An-'ceſtors; and then preſented him a Writing agreeing with that which had been offer'd to the Emperour, but without making any mention of that Prince's Approbation of it. The Preſident Read it attentively, and weighed every word and ſyllable, and approv'd all that was contain'd in it; declaring it to agree perfectly with the ſenſe of the Learn'd. But he prais'd nothing more than the laſt Paragraf, which treated of the Worſhip of Heaven, and above all, ſome words which were added, and attributed to *Xam Ti*, Supreme Intelligence.

The

The Tenth and Laſt ſhall be the Teſtimony we had from a venerable Old Man, not ſo much to be valu'd for his great dignities, as on account of his Eminent Learning, which render'd him both venerable to the *Tartars*, and *Chineſe*. His Name was *Li*; he had been for ſeveral Years imploy'd by the Emperour, in compounding ſeveral Treatiſes, as well in the *Tartar*, as *Chineſe* Tongue, concerning different matters; but chiefly relating to the different Sects, which are in this Empire; as alſo in doing into theſe two Languages (both which he poſſeſt in perfection) ſeveral Books relating to our *European* Sciences. He had formerly done out of *Chineſe* into *Tartar*, Father *Matthew Riccius*'s Books concerning the exiſtence of God, and ſeveral others, which have been Printed much to the Publick good. This Learned Man ſo eminent for his knowledge of the *Chineſe* Antiquities, that none ſurpaſs'd him in it, being heretofore askt by one of the Society (for he has been dead ſome Years) what he thought of the mention'd Books, and their Author. He Anſwer'd ingeniouſly, 'That they contain'd the 'Doctrine of the Ancient *Chineſe*, in relation 'to the Worſhip of Heaven, and *Xam Ti*, and 'ſhew'd its perfect Conformity as to thoſe points 'with the Chriſtian Religion. He added, He 'could not ſufficiently admire how it was poſſible for Father *Riccius* to penetrate the abſtruſe 'and hidden ſenſe of their Canonical Books, 'and for a ſtranger to give light by his piercing 'Wit, to thoſe Truths, which had for many Years 'ſeem'd obſcure to their greateſt Doctors. For 'he has, ſays he, demonſtrated that the Belief

'and Worſhip of the true God, was the firſt
'and chief point of Wiſdom amongſt the An-
'cient *Chineſe*; and that ſo clearly, that the ve-
'ry pretenders to Learning may with much
'eaſe and evidence diſcover this important Truth
'in his Books. The ſame perſon had done out of *Chineſe* into the *Tartar* Tongue, Father *Alenus* his Treatiſe of the true Origen of all things; which Tranſlation is extant in Print: He ſaid this Father was ſomewhat inferiour to the former, as to the knowledge of the *Chineſe* Antiquities, but that for elegance and purity of his ſtile in that Tongue, he might be rankt with the moſt famous Orators and Philoſophers of that Nation; not excepting the Ancients themſelves. He who heard theſe things from this great Man, hath left under Oath the Truth of what is here ſet down, and his Teſtimony is kept at *Pekin*.

Many other Teſtimonies of Men eminent for their Dignities and Learning might be added to theſe; and many more might have been procur'd from thoſe who are Learn'd Men; but of an inferiour rank; but becauſe a too diligent enquiry after many Mens Opinions, might create ſome ſuſpition, and come to the Emperour's ears, who would not at all be pleas'd, that we ſhould not reſt ſatisfy'd with this Decree: We thought it convenient to ſuperſeed all farther enquiry; by means of which it would have been eaſy, if any ways neceſſary, to have procur'd innumerable other Teſtimonies, which would all agree in the ſame Explication of the *Chineſe* Rites and Ceremonies.

We

We could add to theſe ſeveral Teſtimonies of ſome of more Ancient ſtanding; as that of Doctor *Paul*, who by means of more Ancient ſtanding, and his eminent Learning arriv'd to the Dignity of Colao, and thoſe of ſeveral other Chriſtians, whoſe eminent Science has rais'd them to great Dignities, whoſe Authority muſt certainly be more valuable, than of Ten unknown Chriſtians, who were cited at *Rome*, in the Year 1645, againſt the opinion of the Society. But we muſt not omit here that the Authentick Teſtimony of the Famous Colao *Ye*, taken out of the Archive of *Pekin* College, and related in a Letter Written by Father *Alenus* in *Ham Cheu*, the Third of *February* 1625, in which he gives the following Relation, Travailing by Water with the Colao *Ye*, and ſpeaking to him concerning the Divine Law; he ſaid, we alſo acknowledge one God, Lord of the Univerſe, who Rewards the Good, and Puniſhes the Evil, but under a different name. For you call him *Tien Chu*, that is, Lord of Heaven, which way of ſpeaking is no ſmall prejudice to you, making you paſs for Men of a New and evil Sect; and all this happens, becauſe you do not give him the ſame name we do. Why therefore do you not uſe the terms *Tien*, and *Xam Ti*, to ſignifie the true God? By that means you would avoid all ſuſpicion of Novelty; and if you thought it neceſſary, you might by a further explication limit more particularly the ſenſe of theſe words, to what you deſir'd, and deſign'd to ſignify by them. He ſaid afterwards, we reaſon upon a Parity drawn from our Bodies, in which there is a Spirit or Soul, who governs

it, and without which, it can neither ſuſtain it ſelf, or act, whence we infer, that there muſt be in the World, a Supreme Lord, who governs it, and directs all things to his deſign'd end; in this we agree perfectly with you, this was the diſcourſe of this Colao, famous in his time for his Learning, who cheriſhed and valued highly the Chriſtian Doctrine, and its Preachers; tho' he was not ſo happy, as to embrace it himſelf.

§. VI.

Clear Proofs of the Worſhip of the true God, drawn from Tradition.

THere are yet extant in this Empire, many clear and evident proofs of its knowledge of the true God, which agrees perfectly with the mention'd Teſtimonies of the Emperour, and the chief Maſters of it. We thought convenient to inſtance them in this place under the name of Tradition, as having from time out of mind, been convey'd from hand to hand down to this preſent Age. Amongſt theſe, the firſt place is due to what occurs in two Temples Erected at *Pekin*, in the Emperour's and Empires name. The one is call'd *Tien Tan*; the other *Ti Tan*. One of the Society by the Emperour's Authority viſited on ſet purpoſe theſe Temples, ſcarce known even to the Learn'd themſelves of this Nation, who are of an inferiour rank,

rank. He was reciev'd at the entrance by Six *Manderins*, Keepers of the place, and well acquainted with all things relating to the Temples, and being honourably led into them; he view'd and ſearch'd at leaſure into all things that concern either the Buildings, or the Rites obſerv'd there; inſomuch, that he omitted nothing which might help to the perfect knowledge of the Ceremonies perform'd there, or the Plain, or Icnography of the Building. We ſhall at preſent cull out of many things he obſerv'd, and which may one day appear at length, ſome few which belong to the matter in hand, which ſhall be compris'd under the three following Heads; the firſt of which ſhall contain an account of the object to which the Sacrifices offer'd here are directed, the ſecond relate to the matter and form of theſe Sacrifices, and the third treat of the Perſon who Sacrifices there; and of the Rites and Ceremonies he uſes. We ſhall begin with the *Tien Tan*, as being far the moſt Ancient.

Of the Temple Tien Tan.

In the firſt place, what is Ador'd in this Temple, hath not the leaſt ſhadow of an Idol in it. There is neither Statue nor Image, nor any reſemblance of any thing whatſoever. In both the *Northern* and *Southern* Temple there is nothing, but an Inſcription upon a moveable Table in the *Chineſe* and *Tartar* Tongues, and neat Letters of Gold. The *Chineſe* Characters are *Hoam Tien Xam Ti*; to which theſe three *Tartar* words, correſpond *Terghi*

ab Cai Han; that is word for word, *The High and Supreme Lord of Heaven.*

On the front of the *Southern* Temple, there is this *Chineſe* Inſcription; *Hoam Kium yu*, done thus into *Tartar*, *Ab Cai Hunni ordo*: That is the Temple of the Supreme Lord of Heaven. Finally, the *Chineſe* Inſcription on the *Northern* front, is, *Hoam Kien Tien*, the Hall of the Supreme Lord of Heaven; for the *Tartars* Tranſlate it thus, *Ab Cai Hanni Tien.*

On this occaſion, the Reader not well verſt in the affairs of *China*, is deſir'd to obſerve, that theſe *Tartar* Tranſlations of the Ancient *Chineſe* Inſcriptions, ſo very remote from any dubious, or ſuperſtitious ſenſe, were perform'd by Men eminently skill'd in both theſe Languages, and after a long Conſultation, had in order to diſcover the true ſenſe and meaning of the *Chineſe* Empire, and were by the late Emperour, and the Sovereign Tribunals judg'd to bear the ſame ſenſe with the *Chineſe* Characters; and order'd to be added to them; tho' the *Chineſe* Inſcriptions bear a full and compleat ſenſe; and in the Opinion of many, expreſs the ſame thing with yet more energy. For beſides the four laſt Characters ſignifying by their Primitive Inſtitution, the Supreme Emperour: The firſt Character *Hoam*, which in common acception imports the ſame; hath moreover by Virtue of the *Hieroglyphick* Characters which Compoſe it, a very intenſe ſignification of abſolute Dominion over all things. For it is made up of the Letter *Pe*, which ſignifies a Hundred, which in their Language

is equivalent to *All* in ours, and the Letter *Vam*, which ſignifies Kings. Whence the *Chineſe*, who are the moſt Proud of Men, have ſometimes thro' Flattery ſtill'd their Emperour *Hoam*. Hence it is evident that the *Chineſe* Inſcriptions are not unbecoming the Majeſty of our God; who is ſtill'd in Scripture, the Heavenly King, and Lord of Lords.

Now theſe terms of Heavenly King, Supreme Lord, and the like, being very uſual in common Diſcourſe, and as *Tertulian* diſcourſes concerning the word *God*; being known to every Mans Conſcience, and not owing their Inſtitution to the Temples of Idols, or the Schools of Philoſophy, they may be certainly of great uſe, as being very apt to raiſe in the minds of thoſe who hear them, either here or any where elſe, an apprehenſion of a Supreme and Living Being: who governs all things according to his Pleaſure. Thoſe few, who in *China*, as alſo in *Europe*, endeavour by ſilly quirks, and forc'd gloſſes on evident Texts to bear down this common ſentiment of Mankind, are indeed valued by their followers, as great Wits, but they will be always lookt upon by the ſober and thinking part of the World, as Men, who voluntarily ſhut their Eyes to avoid ſeeing the clear and evident light of this Truth.

What concerns the Victims and Solemnities of the Sacrifices uſually offer'd in theſe Temples, may be compris'd in theſe few words; *viz.* That they have a very great Affinity with theſe which were in uſe under the Law of Nature;

and that of *Moyſes*. For in the firſt place, they are not ſullied with any of thoſe Crimes, which all our Hiſtories obſerve, to have accompany'd the *Pagan* Sacrifices. Here is no ſpilling of Humane Blood; nothing obſcene, no momery; all that is practis'd is highly reſpectful and decent. Some Victims are us'd here as under the Old Law, and chiefly Bulls and Oxen. They have alſo different ſorts of Sacrifices; ſome Expiatory; others Propitiatory; others in Thankſgiving; others ſtill'd Emperial, offer'd for the obtaining of new Favours. *V. G.* the *Tien Tan* hath within its encloſure a noble Temple, call'd *Ki cu Tan*, where Sacrifice is offer'd for the obtaining Corn neceſſary for the ſuſtinance of the People. Amongſt theſe Sacrifices thoſe are the chief, which have the Quality of Holocauſts, in which the Victim, *viz.* a young Bull well Fatted, and particularly choſen, is Burnt, and that upon a ſquare Altar made hallow beneath, with a Grate, in its ſize, ſituation, and dimenſions, ſcarce different from that us'd by the Jews. The ſame reſemblance is alſo to be found betwixt the Altar, on which the *Chineſe* do offer and burn Perfumes. In their ways of Slaughtering their Victims; ſometimes cutting them in pieces, or taking out the Entrals, and heaping them on a Pile of wood, and ſometimes boyling the Fleſh, and offering a kind of Banket of it, and other times Tables before the Sacred Name of God, which practice is obſerv'd by Interpreters to have been us'd in the Sacrifices of the old Law. Amongſt whom, *Tirinus* notes, that their Sacrifices were a kind of Banket, offer'd to God, which Fire conſum'd, as deputed to act in his name.

name. The deſign'd Brevity of this Treatiſe permits us not to inſtance all the cautions which are obſerv'd, and the Laws which are Eſtabliſht in relation to the choiſe of the Victims to be Offer'd, and the Miniſters deputed to keep this Temple. All Beaſts are rejected, which are either hurt, maim'd, or obnoxious to any of the defects mention'd in the 22th of *Leviticus*; and thoſe which are admitted into the Paſtures, allotted for the Beaſts deſign'd for the Sacrifices, are nouriſh'd, waſh'd, and fatned, with ſingular care and diligence. Greater caution is us'd in chooſing thoſe who ſerve in this Temple. They are always men of unſpotted Fame and integrity, and no common Learning, choſen from among the moſt conſiderable *Manderins*; not only they are uncapable of this employ, who have been condemn'd in publick Courts of Juſtice, found guilty of any Crime, or ſuffer'd any publick Puniſhment; but thoſe alſo, who have the misfortune to be liable to any natural defect.

At the Four Seaſons of the Year, when Sacrifices are to be offer'd, an Univerſal Three days Faſt is commanded, conſiſting in Abſtinence from Fleſh and Wine, Women, Comedies, and the Proſecution of all Litigeous Cauſes, and affairs. On this account the *Manderins* are oblig'd to lie out of their own Houſes in the publick Tribunals: Nay the Emperour himſelf leaves his Palace, and retires into the *Chay Cum*, or Hall of Penance, built within the Precincts of the Temple; where in ſolitude he attends to himſelf alone; and, as they ſay, endeavours to perfect himſelf by a diligent examine of his Actions, and a firm purpoſe of amendmeet. In order

to

to reduce all the *Manderins* to the ſame practiſe. A Table is hung up during theſe Three days, in the publick Tribunals, bearing this Inſcription. *The Kingdom has its Law: There is a Spirit, who ſees thoſe, who obſerve it, and who tranſgreſs it.* So far were the Ancient *Chineſe* perſwaded, that Men might be prevail'd upon, by the apprehenſion of a Spirit, that did ſee, and know all things; to forbear tranſgreſſing the Laws Eſtabliſht, in relation to the Sacrifices to be offer'd to him.

Whence this great reſemblance of the Rites of this Empire, with thoſe of the old Law, took its riſe; and why this ſo uncommon preparation, both of body and mind, was order'd to preceed the Sacrifices to be offer'd to the Supreme Lord of the Univerſe, we leave others to determine. But we are inclin'd to believe, that the concurrance of all theſe obſervances, which were inſtituted many Ages ago; will convince any Man Read in Antiquity: That the *Chineſe* Monarchy during its firſt Ages, enjoy'd a clear knowledge of the true God; and that theſe cuſtoms flow from a pure fountain: Since the Intervening, ſuperſtitions, which from time to time have obſcur'd this Light, could never prevail ſo far, as to extinguiſh it, or hinder ſucceeding Princes of greater Wiſdom, from reſtoring it in ſome meaſure to its firſt Luſtre. All that we pretend at preſent, is barely to repreſent things as we find them, and to demonſtrate to the Modern Atheiſts of this Nation, by this new Argument, that their ſentiment concerning the Worſhip of the Material and Inſenſible

ſenſible Heavens; can no wiſe cohere with the ſenſe of Antiquity, which they ſo much value, and reſpect.

For the better underſtanding of what is to be ſaid concerning the perſon, who Sacrifices, and the Ceremonies us'd by him: 'Tis to be obſerv'd, that the *Northern* and *Southern* Temple, which together make the *Tien Tan*, are two different Buildings, whereof the Interiour is the Repoſitory of the Inſcription containing the ſacred Name, where its kept during the courſe of the Year; and the Exteriour, a kind of Church, or Royal Hall of the Ceremonies, in which its expos'd on ſolemn occaſions. Both theſe Halls are large, ſolid, round buildings, Compos'd of three Uniform Orders of Architecture, riſing in comly and handſome proportion. Four Aſcents lead to theſe Halls, containing Nine Degrees, each of nine Steps. They differ in this, that the *Northern* Hall is Cruſted on the out-ſide with white Marble; and hath plac'd under the middle of its Roof, a round Temple, beautify'd by a triple Yellow Roof, under which there riſes a Throne, Dedicated to the Divine Majeſty, not much different from the Emperial Throne. The *Southern* Hall is beautify'd with Brick of an Azure Colour, and has the Heaven for Roof: But on Solemn Days it has, in place of Roof, a Tent which is Erected, and ſerves for a Tabernacle for the ſacred Inſcription. The Ceremonies us'd before the ſacred Name of the Supreme Emperour, by the *Chineſe* Emperour himſelf. (For all Relations agree that it belongs to him alone to offer Sacrifice in this Temple) have a great affinity with

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thoſe reſpects, which the *Manderins* pay to this Prince in his Palace. For as they who are Keepers of this place, obſerv'd, as the Emperour, who during the year, is, as it were, ſhut up in his Palace: At the beginning of the new year enters a ſtately Hall, and plac'd there on his Throne, has all the great Men of his Court, and the *Manderins* of each Tribunal, all in their Ranks, and richly Clad before him, who at a ſign given by all manner of Muſical Inſtruments, bow down their heads nine times to the ground at ſet Intervals. In the ſame manner, the ſacred Inſcription is brought out of the Inner Temple, its Domeſtick Sanctuary, into the Exteriour Hall, a publick place, attended by Choirs of Muſicians, and Companies of Dancers, among whom, ſome Emperours have not diſdain'd to mix themſelves.

When the Sacred Name of God is plac'd upon the Throne, then the Emperour quitting his uſual Garments, puts on Purple Robes, and enters the Hall, attended by the Princes, Miniſters, and chief Courtiers: The remainder of his ſtately Retinue of *Manderins* ſtaying without, having plac'd thoſe who enter'd with him, in decent order; he alone mounts the Steps of the Throne, not up the middle, but one the one ſide; (which difference is alſo paid him in his Palace) being come to the top of the ſecond rank of the ſteps; not preſuming to advance any farther; the Muſick ſtriking up, on a Signal given; he Kneels down, and at ſet Intervails; all his numerous Retinue following his example, bows down Nine times to the ground, reverently Adoring the Divine Majeſty, whom he acknowledges to be his

Emperour

Emperour and Lord. He values himself so highly on this account, that he is never better pleas'd, than when his Subjects stile him *Pi Hia*; by which expression they signify, that tho', as they express themselves, he is above the heads of the World, yet he is under the steps of the Throne of *Xam Ti*, and Adores his Foot-stool.

After this Adoration, follows a noble Sacrifice, prepar'd in the name of the Emperour, and the whole Empire; a publick Cryer Reading in a low'd and distinct Voice in the Emperours name, the Form of the Oblation, and Antiphons fitted to each Action, Sung in Musick. These Antiphons set forth in very magnificent terms the Divine Power, Majesty, Science, Providence, and other Attributes and Benefits of God. Our design'd brevity doth not permit us to transcribe all; neither can we well quite omit them; we shall therefore instance some few. First then in the Solemn Form of Offering the Sacrifice; the Emperour uses his own proper name without any addition of Titles, which amongst this People is the greatest Testimony which can be given of his Superiour Dignity, who is spoken to. Then he stiles himself Servant and Subject, and says, he offers these things to *Tergi Ab Cai Hande*, the supreme Emperour of Heaven. We omit the other Contents of this Solemn Oblation, it being in the *Tartar* Tongue, and consequently less known to most Missionaries, to whom the Contents of the *Chinese* Books will be more grateful. We shall therefore Translate here some solemn Invocations us'd by the Emperour *Hia Cim*, the Twelfth Prince of the Family *Tay Mim*, when many years ago, he chaing'd the Ancient Inscriptions

tions of theſe Temples, which run thus: 'To 'the ſupreme Lord of the Shining Heavens: 'And put in place of them this ſentence, to 'the Heavenly King of Kings, and ſupreme 'Lord.

In [the ſolemn Obligation of this Title *Ho am*, of whom mention has been made, firſt judging himſelf unworthy to be heard, calls upon all Spirits, and entreats them not to diſdain to employ all their Spiritual and Intellectual vertue with the Supreme Lord, in order to expoſe to him the humble and ſubmiſſive ſentiments of his mind, and entreat him to accept favourably this Oblation, and Title, which he offers him proſtrate on the Ground with all poſſible Reſpect.

On the day this Title was Dedicated to the Supreme Emperour, the Muſick Sung the following Antiphon to him, as preſent and approving this Solemnity; which, tho' in the Tranſlation it falls ſhort of the Energy of the *Chineſe* expreſſions; nevertheleſs it expreſſes in magnificent terms the Eternity of Almighty God; and his Exiſtence before the Hills and Hinges of the Earth: It is worded as follows. 'In the confus'd 'Beginning of the World, there was nothing but 'a confus'd Chaos: The Five Planets, or Ele-'ments had not yet began to run round: The 'Two Lights had not yet Shin'd: He alone ſtood 'in the middle; who, tho' he has neither Voice 'nor Shape; yet has Voice and Shape, as being 'the Supreme Lord of all Spirits, owing his Be-'ing only to himſelf, and bringing into order this 'confus'd Maſs. He in the beginning devided 'the Thick from the Thin, made Heaven, made

'Earth

'Earth, made Man, from whom afterwards pro-
'ceeded all kind of Creatures.

In the next Antiphon he ſays, *Ti*, i. e. 'The 'Lord produc'd *In*, and *Yam* the firſt Principles 'of all Material things, having abſolute Power 'to Create, and Produce. This Spirit produced 'the ſeven Planets, giving them vertue to Shine 'on, and Influence Inferior things. He cover'd 'all things with the Heavens, and fixt all by the 'Immobility of the Earth, that they might en-'joy a conſtant and ſtable ſtate. In thanks for 'this great Benefit, I your Subject offer my hum-'ble Adoration to you, and preſume to offer to 'you Supreme Emperour, this Auguſt Title '*Hoam*, King of Kings.

The Oblation of the Silks and Veſſels made of precious Stones is accompany'd by this Antiphon, in which he ſays, '*Ti*, *O Lord* be pleas'd 'to hear with a Fatherly Affection theſe deſires of 'your Child, not being otherwiſe able to com-'ply with this Duty of a Child towards you, the 'beſt of Parents. I have preſum'd to preſent you 'this Title. And becauſe you have been pleas'd 'to look down propitiouſly on this my Oblation, 'in Thankſgiving for this ſingular favour, I make 'bold to offer to you theſe few Veſſels and 'Silks.

In the Fourth Antiphon, he ſays, 'He offers 'to the Supreme Lord, who has been pleas'd to 'regard his humble deſires, the firſt Cup of 'Wine, in Teſtimony of Praiſe and Joy for his 'perpetual and unlimited Duration, which nei-'ther has, nor will have its equal. In the fifth Antiphon he complains of Men who are ſurround-ed by the Benefits which they have reciev'd from this

this Supreme Emperour: Altho', says he, 'So 'many, and so Pregnant Testimonies of this Su-'preme Emperour's Love towards all Living 'Creatures are every where extant; yet who at-'tentively considers the Origen from whence 'they flow? This certainly is no other than the Supreme Emperour of all Nations, Maker of all things, and true Creator. Omitting several others we shall add by way of Conclusion, that which accompanies the offer of the Title, which is as follows. 'The Supreme Lord Commanded, and 'the three Principal parts of the World were 'Made; Heaven, Earth, and Man; and all other 'things. In the middle he plac'd a Man, and all 'other Creatures. I your Subject beg that the 'Deceas'd Emperours, my Fore-Fathers, whose 'Names are here, may be so happy to enjoy your 'Presence in your Heavenly Kingdom.

In a word, in these and other Antiphons we have omitted, the Supreme Lord is acknowledg'd to be 'Creator, and Conservator, Eternal 'and Omnipotent, to see the secrets of Hearts, 'to reward Good, and punish Evil, and to give 'Verbally the *Chinese* expression, to be Holy and 'Understanding. Now whosoever doth not percieve in these Expressions a clear Acknowledgment of God, must either be an Athist by Inclination, or rely too much on such Mens Judgments; and it happens but too often to some Learned Men to meet first with Atheistical Treaties, and not being well vers'd in other Books, to be so far insensibly charm'd with their frothy flourishes, as to think themselves most valuable, when they are most despicable, as when they attempt to explain the most unaccountable Effects, and clear

clear Texts of the Ancients, which ſpeak a loud the Exiſtence of a God, by Sympathy and Antipathy.

Of the Temple Ti Tan.

In this Temple there is neither Image nor Idol, nor any thing like one: The Emperour himſelf chief Pontif; the firſt Miniſters of the Empire, and the Keepers of this place aſſure us, that their Worſhip here is directed to the ſame Supreme Being, Ador'd in the *Tien Tan.* This is alſo evident by the Inſcription expos'd the day when the Solemn Adoration is perform'd, which is this, *Hoam Tiki*, done thus in *Tartar*, *Nai Han*, that is, Supreme Lord of the Earth. On the front are theſe *Chineſe* Characters *Hoam Ki Xe*, to whom theſe *Tartar* correſpond *Nai Han ni Pao*, that is the Houſe of the Supreme Lord of Earth. Theſe two Inſcriptions agree with thoſe of the *Tien Tan*, already mention'd, as to the ſenſe, and as to the words too, with their Canonical Book, call'd *Liki*, which gives the Name of *Ki* unto *Xam Ti.* Theſe Inſcriptions prove evidently, that the Ancient *Chineſe* Emperours knew the true God, and that he is Ador'd by them, who rule in this preſent Age, and acknowledge, as the *Chineſe* Characters make it evidently appear, to govern with Supreme power both Heaven and Earth. On this account the Emperour in the *Tartar* form of Offering the Sacrifice (no other being Read when he Sacrifices) ſays both in *Tien Tan*, and in this Temple, that he offereth all to *Hande*, or the ſupreme Lord; and calls himſelf in expreſs terms the Subject of this Supreme Lord. In a word, here he uſes the

ſame reverencial expreſſions in Addreſſing himſelf to him, and the ſubmiſſive poſture of Body, and interiour demiſſion towards the ſupreme Lord of Heaven and Earth.

We know very well that ſome Emperours of the middle Age of his Monarchy, were ſo impiouſly over-ſeen, as to Aſſociate to this ſupreme Lord a certain Genious of the Earth; or as they ſtill'd her *Heu Tu*, Lord of a certain Genius of the Earth, or Empreſs of the Earth: Amongſt theſe was *Hoei Cum*, the Eight Prince of the Family *Sum*. But we alſo know that the *Chineſe* Annals ſharply reprehend him in theſe words: By the word *Ti* in the Inſcription *Xam Ti*, is meant the Lord and Governour of Heaven: None equals his excellence. Why therefore did *Hoei Cum* Aſſociate an equal to him with a new Title? He who ſins againſt Heaven, hath none left him, to whom he may have recourſe. By which, and other following reprehenſions and cenſures, they condemn this Emperour for the affecting a greater Impunity, than his Predeceſſours, by dividing the object of their Worſhip, and introducing a new fangled Goddeſs, who might protect him againſt the Anger of Heaven. Whereas, as they remark, the word *Ti* imports the ſupreme Lord and Governour of Heaven, who admits no equal.

Theſe ſame proofs make it clear, that the matter, pomp, and other ſolemnities of the Sacrifice offer'd by the Emperour at the Summer Solſtice, are the ſame with thoſe practis'd in the *Tien Tan*. This is certain, that in this City the ſame Faſt, ſeparation from their Wives, examine of their Actions, and purpoſe of Amendment, is Impos'd on all by

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a Law, which exempts not the Emperour himſelf. There is indeed this difference betwixt the *Tien Tan*, and the *Ti Tan*: Firſt that the Throne on which the ſacred Inſcription is plac'd, is round in the firſt, and ſquare in the latter. Secondly, That in the *Tien Tan*, the Emperour offers that kind of Sacrifice, call'd by the *Chineſe*, *Tan Chai*, and *Leao*, in which the Victims are conſum'd by Fire. They eſteem this kind of Sacrifice the moſt proper to expreſs the power of the ſupreme Lord, in relation to the Production and Deſtruction of all things, and this Sacrifice is call'd *Kiao*. But in *Ti Tan*, all the Victims are reverently Buried in the Earth; by which Ceremony they deſign to expreſs the power of the ſupreme Being, in conſerving and cheriſhing all that he produc'd.

For this reaſon they frequently call the ſupreme Lord *Ta Fu Mu*, the great Father and Mother; which is the very Name all the *Chineſe* Chriſtians give to Almighty God; this Srcrifice they call *Xe*, ſo that it cannot in reaſon ſeem ſtrange to any Man who has viſited theſe Temples, to hear the Emperour himſelf, and the chief Men of the Empire affirm, that not only the Ancients, but they themſelves Adore the ſupreme Lord of Heaven, and not the Material Inanimate Globes; that both of their uſual and cuſtomary Sacrifices are directed to him, and that to expreſs this their intent, they make uſe of *Confucius* his words, without naming him, taken out of his Canonical Book *Chum Yum*, where he ſays, 'That *Kiao Xe* is the Worſhip paid to the ſu-'preme Lord.

On this occaſion we muſt take notice with many *Chineſe* Doctors of the extreme boldneſs of that Atheiſtical head of the *Chineſe* Polititians *Hoei Cum*, who falſify'd this clear Text, which incommoded him by adding *Heu Tu* to it: whence ſober and thinking Men may gather how far theſe Commentaries are to be rely'd on; and whether all they advance is to be look'd on as certain. 'Tis very certain that in the decernment of Commentaries, thoſe are to be rejected, which are contrary to the plain ſenſe of the Text; and by ſtrain'd Gloſſes endeavour to give it a different meaning, from what the words import, and at the ſame time interfer with themſelves, and that not obſcurely and rarely, but very frequently, and in a manner obvious to the meaneſt capacities. Now the moſt Learned Men of the Empire, and the Doctors of the Royal Academy charge theſe new Gloſſes with theſe Capital Faults: And hence 'tis become a Proverb amongſt the Learned; *Believe the Text, but don't believe the Gloſs.* What has been ſaid concerning the Emperour's Offering Sacrifice in the *Tien Tan*, muſt be alſo underſtood of this Temple; for as he only offers the Sacrifice *Kiao* in the *Tien Tan*; ſo he alone offers the Sacrifice *Xe* in the *Ti Tan*, in the Name of the whole Empire, and as they ſay, of the whole World. From him alone the Feudatary Kings reciev'd formerly, together with the Royal Enſigns, as Governours of Towns do at this day, the Authority to offer *Xe*, but with this difference, that the Solemnities allow'd them are limited, in proportion to their reſpective Dignities: in ſo much, that they only offer Sacrifice for thoſe under their Juriſdiction, and

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dare not ſo much as call upon the Tutelar Spirits of other places: Whence the Imperial Sacrifice is call'd in their Canonical Book, *Liki Ta Xe*, or the Great and Univerſal Sacrifice.

And thus much concerning theſe Sacrifices, which, tho' unlawful upon many accounts, eſpeally ſince the Inſtitution of that which the Church of Chriſt doth uſe, yet have been juſtly inſiſted upon, becauſe they conduce to the clearing the matter in hand, and furniſh a ſtrong Argument againſt the *Chineſe* Atheiſts. 'Tis ſufficient for us to have demonſtrated by the Teſtimonies of the Miniſters of theſe Sacrifices, by the Inſcriptions of theſe Temples, and their Tranſlation done and approv'd by publick Authority, by the previous preparations, the ſolemn Forms of their Oblation, and other Rites obſerv'd in them; that the Ancient and preſent *Chineſe* Monarchs Sacrifice not to the Material Heavens, and Earth, as their Canonical Book *Liki* affirms in theſe expreſs terms: Heaven hath not two Suns, nor one Country two Kings; neither are theſe Sacrifices Inſtituted to honour two Lords.

We make no mention here of the other Temples, *Ge Tan*, and *Gue Tan*, Built heretofore within this City: Becauſe they are not Dedicated to the Supreme Lord; but to the greater and leſſer Luminous Angelical Spirits; and different and inferiour Rites are us'd in them, as the *Manderins*, who are Keepers of them, aſſure us.

Other Teſtimonies of the knowledge of God, drawn from popular Tradition.

It will not be unſeaſonable to add to this Royal and Publick Tradition, ſome further proofs of this Truth, drawn from the manner and object of the Worſhip obſerv'd by the People for the knowledge of the true God; for this was not ſo confin'd to the Royal Family, as to be quite conceal'd from the Vulgar, as will appear by two Inſtances: The firſt of which ſhall be taken from what is practis'd in many private Families, and the ſecond from certain forms of ſpeech us'd amongſt the People.

In many Commoners Houſes, and in thoſe too of ſome Learned Men, this Inſcription conſiſting of Ten *Chineſe* Characters, is expos'd to the Families Veneration, *Tien*, *Ti*, *San Kiai*, *Xe fam*, *Van Lim Chin Cay*; that is, the true Lord of Heaven and Earth, the Three Regions, Ten Diviſions, and all Intellectual Beings. Now whether by the Three Regions of the Air, they mean the Supreme, Middle, and Inferiour Regions, and by the Ten Diviſions, the Ten parts, the Ancient *Chineſe* Syſtem, repreſented by the figure *Ho Tu*, divided the World into, or ſome other Diviſion: 'Tis ſtill certain, that this Inſcription ſpeaks of the true Lord, and Governour of all things, and that in ſuch clear and expreſſive terms, as cannot be baffled by any Cavils or Gloſſes. Three ſorts of People pay reſpect to this Inſcription: Some have neither Statue nor Idol in their Houſes, are addicted to no Sect, Adore none of the Pagan Gods; in a word, admit of no other Worſhip, than

than what they pay before this Title of Supreme Lord, which they take care to place very decently, by burning Perfumes, and Proſtrations; and if we may meaſure the cuſtoms of other Provinces, by this Town and Province: We may conclude there are innumerable People of all Sects and Profeſſions, who not only have this Inſcription in their Houſes, which is not appropriated to any Sect in particular; but alſo honour it by burning Perfumes and other Ceremonies, tho' at times; and they all agree in preferring it before any Idol, and honour it in a different place out of their Houſes, and judging them unworthy to contain the Name of the Supreme Lord of Majeſty; therefore they fix it on, or over their Doors, that they may be always put in mind by the ſight of it, to Worſhip this Supreme Lord above all things. There are others, tho' but few, who joyn to Figures of their Idols, this Inſcription, and by this means apply to Fictitious Beings, the ſenſe of what belongs to the true God alone. Tables containing this Inſcription, but differently Adorn'd are expos'd to Sale, at the end of each Year thro' the whole Empire, to the end, every one may be provided with them; and all unanimouſly joyn in the Worſhip of it on the firſt day of the new Year. At which time over and above the Burning of Perfumes, and other uſual Ceremonies; Raw Rice, Fruits, and other Comeſtibles are offer'd before this Inſcription to the Supreme Lord of all things, either in Thankſgiving for the Nouriſhment they have receiv'd from him, or in order to obtain it for the future; and their own Canonical ritual Orders the Emperour to beg of the ſupreme Lord a Plentiful Harveſt. We omit

its many clear Texts, relating to this Inſcription; it not being our preſent deſign to write the Hiſtory of its Origen and Propagation. This one thing relating to the point in Queſtion, is certain, *viz.* That this Writing contains a clear notion of the True God; and what is very remarkable, the *Chineſe* Annals, and other publick Monuments, which give an exact account of the Riſe and Progreſs of all the different Sects which have been in this Empire, give no account when the uſe of this Inſcription began, which ſeems an evident Proof of the knowledge of the true God, having been time out of mind amongſt this People, where yet it remains pure from all mixture of Idolatry in many Families.

The other Head, which may juſtly be reckon'd amongſt the Proofs extant in this Empire, of its enjoying the knowledge of the True God, contains certain forms of Speech in uſe amongſt theſe People. Theſe are of two different ſorts, ſome being proper to the Learn'd, others common amongſt the People: We ſhall at preſent compare them together, in order to make it clear, that they agree as to the ſenſe, tho' they differ in words. For the People proceeding with down right Simplicity, expreſs by many, and obvious words, what the Learned affect to ſay in a Laconick and Figurative way. Now it is not to be imagin'd, that when the Learned in lieu of naming God, the Emperour the Preſident, and Members of a Tribunal, and the like, uſe the Names of the places they reſide in: It is not, I ſay, to be imagin'd, that in theſe occaſions the People do not underſtand their true meaning; or think, when they hear them ſay, that the juſt

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Court is to be honour'd, that they ſpeak of the place where the Aſſembly is held, and not of thoſe who are Members and Heads of it; they know very well the contrary, and eſpecially when the Emperour is ſpoak of, by the Name of the Chief Hall of the Palace; and Almighty God is mention'd by the Name of Heaven; for theſe fignres are grown ſo Familiar to them by uſe, that they leave no more doubt of his meaning, who uſes them, than if he employ'd the common and uſual expreſſions, which are more frequent amongſt the commonalty.

This Phraſe is common among the People, *Lao Tien Ye*, that is Ancient, or Heavenlv Father, or Lord of Heaven: For where we ſay *Lord*, the *Chineſe* ſay *Le*, and *Lao Ye*; and the People of *Pekin*, (whoſe Dialect we ſhall uſe in the Vulgar Expreſſions, we ſhall mention by *Lao*,) commonly underſtand Father. Now that in theſe expreſſions, *Tien* ſignifies Heavenly, or of Heaven, and is not to be taken for the word Heaven in the Nominative Caſe, is evidently made out, by the *Tartar* Tranſlations of the *Chineſe* Inſcriptions, conſiſting of the indeclinable *Chineſe* words, which were perform'd by Men eminent for their skill in both the Languages, and where the words are, *The ſupreme Lord of Heaven*, and not *Heaven the ſupreme Lord*. But the genuine ſenſe of theſe expreſſions is not ſo much to be meaſur'd by the rigour of Grammatical conſtruction, as by what they attribute to the Ancient Father. And here *Europeans* altogether ignorant of the *Chineſe* Tongue, may be competent Judges, to whom we leave it to determine; whether the great excellencies attributed by them to

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Heaven; do not rather agree with God himſelf, than with the ſenſeleſs Orbs.

The Learned commonly uſe this word *Tien*, *Heaven*, to which they joyn the following Epithets, *Xin Tien*, the Spiritual and Intellectual Heaven; *Cim Tien*, the piercing, or penetrating Heaven; *Cao ve chu*, the Creator, and Lord; *Oiu Cay*, Lord and Governour, *&c.* The meaning of which will appear, by the Qualities they Attribute to Heaven.

In order to let, the Reader perceive at one caſt of an Eye, that theſe Expreſſions have come down to this Age from the firſt foundation of this Monarchy; we ſhall add to every expreſſion of the People, and the Learned ſome ſhort Text taken out of their Canonical Books, omitting thoſe which are longer, as no ways neceſſary here, as not being clearer than the Emperour's Declaration, which affirms in expreſs terms, that not the Material Heaven, but the Lord, and Creator of Heaven and Earth is Ador'd. For no terms can more Emphatically expreſs the true God; ſince the Prince himſelf, and the People knew very well, that by theſe words of our Expoſition of the *Chineſe* Rites offer'd to him, we mean the true God. In the adjoyning Texts, and others omitted, theſe expreſſions are very frequent, *Ti*, Lord, ſupreme Lord. *Hoam*, ſupreme Lord, or King of Kings. *Hoa Tien*, the greateſt Heaven. *Xam Tien*, the ſupreme Heaven. *Mim Tien*, the merciful. *Cao Cao*, the moſt High. *Tam Tam*, immenſe. *Hao Hao*, the Greateſt. *Mim Mim*, the moſt Underſtanding. *Yeu Yeu*, Eternal. *Cam Cam*, the moſt Ancient. *Hoam Hoam*, the moſt Supreme. *He He*, of Auguſt Majeſty, *&c.*

We

We ſhall add here a Liſt of ſome common expreſſions, omitting many more to avoid being tedious Which affirm;

Firſt, That God lives above.

Over our heads is one Ancient Heavenly Father. *People.*

Over our heads is a perſpicatious Heaven. *Learned.*

The moſt high Lives above. *Liber canonicus Xi Xim.*

Secondly, All things are produc'd by Heaven.

What is there, that was not produc'd by the Ancient Heavenly Father, and given Man for his Suſtinance. *People.*

Heaven produc'd all things to nourriſh Man. *Learned.*

All things have their Origin from Heaven. *Lib. can. Li Ki.*

Thirdly, That Heaven produc'd Man.

Who of Mankind is not produc'd by the Ancient Heavenly Father. *People.*

All Men are produc'd by Heaven. *Learned.*

Heaven produc'd all Nations. *Lib. can. Xi Kim.*

Fourthly, That the Emperour has his Authority from Heaven.

Thanks be to the Heavenly Father, who has given us the beſt of Emperour's, and moſt tender of his People. *People.*

The

Learned. The Sun of Heaven the Emperour, by power given from Heaven, governs peaceably the Empire.

Lib. can. Xu Kim. Heaven has ſent me down to Govern and Teach the People, and in a manner, to help the ſupreme Lord to bleſs the Four Quarters of the World.

Fifthly, That Heaven is to be Worſhip'd.

People. Who dares refuſe to Worſhip the Heavenly Father.

Learned. Who dares ſay I Adore not Heaven.

Lib. can. Xu Kim. The ſupreme Lord is to be Worſhip'd and ſerv'd.

Sixthly, That Heaven commands mutual ſervices and reſpects.

People. Who contemns Man, contemns the Heavenly Father.

Learned. Who contemns Man, contemns Heaven.

Lib. can. Su Xu. If I contemn any one, I contemn Heaven.

Seventhly, That Heaven is every where.

People. Where is not the Heavenly Father.

Learned. Over our Doors, and within our Chambers, there is a perſpicatious Heaven.

Lib. can. Xi Kim. The greateſt Heaven is call'd Intelligent, wherever you go, it preſently attains you. The greateſt Heaven is call'd

call'd Illuſtrating, wherever your thoughts carry you; thither it immediately reaches.

Eighthly, That Heaven is Ignorant of nothing.

The Heavenly Father knows whatever is done in private. *People.*

A thought riſes in your heart, Heaven knows it. *Learned.*

Heaven alone is endow'd with a perfect Underſtanding. *Lib. can. Xu Kim.*

Ninthly, That Heaven knows the heart of man.

No Man knows the heart of Man, whether it be juſt, or wicked: Only the Heavenly Father knows that. *People.*

Only the Heaven above knows the heart of Man, whether it be juſt or wicked. *Learned.*

The ſupreme Lord knows in his heart, who are to be belov'd, who are to be rejected, or who are good, who are evil. *Lib. can. Xu Kim.*

Tenthly, That Heaven rewards and puniſhes.

The Heavenly Father puniſhes this Man, and rewards the other. *People.*

Heaven undoubtedly rewards the Juſt, and puniſhes the Wicked. *Learned.*

'Tis the Law of Heaven to proſper good Men, and to afflict the Wicked. *Lib. can. Xu Kim.*

11thly, That Heaven ſees perfectly all things.

Peeple. The Heavenly Father ſees things truly, as they are in themſelves.

Learned. The Heaven above ſees things truly.

Lib. can. Xi Kim. The ſupreme Lord vieweth with great Clarity the Four Regions of the World.

12thly, That Heaven hath an Eye upon Men.

People. The Ancient Heavenly Father looks down hither.

Learned. There is a Heaven above which looks on us.

Lib. can. Xi Kim. Only Heaven views the People ſubject to it.

13. That Heaven hears.

People. There is an Ancient Heavenly Father, who hears.

Learned. The word which is Whiſper'd in ſecret, ſounds as loud as Thunder in the Ears of Heaven.

Lib. can. Kiao. yiu. The ſound of good works reaches to Heaven; rejoyceth the heart of the Heavenly Father.

14. That Heaven cannot be deciev'd.

People. Man may be deciev'd, but the Heavenly Father cannot.

Man

Man may be deciev'd, but not Heaven. *Learned.*

Comprehending by perfect understanding what's below, and illuſtrating with Auguſt Glory what's above. *Lib. can. Xi Kim.*

15. That Heaven hates the Wicked.

The Heavenly Father ſuffers not corrupted Men. *People.*

Heaven above is Angry with the Wicked. *Learned.*

Who Sins againſt Heaven, hath none left him, to whom he may have recourſe. *Lib. can. Su Xio.*

16. That Heaven hates the Proud.

The HeavenlyFather hath confounded my proud Thoughts, and humbled me. *People.*

Heaven ſuffereth not the Proud. *Learned.*

Heaven hates the Proud, and loves the Humble. *Lib. can. Y Kim.*

17. That Heaven is Juſt.

The Heavenly Father is Juſt. *People.*

Heaven is moſt Juſt, and free from all exceptions of perſons. *Learned.*

The Supreme Lord is free from all exceptions of perſons, and only values Vertue. *Lib. can. Xu Kim.*

18. That Heaven is to be obeyed.

In

People. In obedience to the Heavenly Father's will. *Item.* I give my life to the Heavenly Father.

Learned. Nothing happens which Heaven hath not decreed. A wise Man obeys Heaven.

Lib. can. Xu Kim. We must acquiess to the pleasure and command of Heaven.

19. That Heaven comforteth the Good.

People. The Heavenly Father permits not the hopes of the Just to be frustrated.

Learned. The supreme Lord of Heaven doth not decieve the hopes of the Just.

Lib. can. Xu Kim. The supreme Lord of Heaven assists the Good.

20. That Heaven has mercy on us.

People. Ancient Father of Heaven, have mercy on us, and that sufficeth.

Learned. Heaven will, I hope, have mercy on us.

Lib. can. Su Xu. Merciful Heaven is to be call'd upon with Sighs.

21. That Pardon is to be hop'd for from Heaven.

People. I beg the Heavenly Father to pardon me, and that is all I desire.

Learned. Heaven gives Men time to grow Wise, and Repent.

Lib. can. Xu Kim. Contrition is the Key of Heaven.

22. That

2 That Heaven is to be fear'd.

Fear you not the Heavenly Father? *People.*

Heaven which is above is to be feared. *Learned.*

The Majeſty of Heaven is to be feared or dreaded. *Lib. can. Xu Kim.*

23. That the Counſels of Heaven are above our reach.

No man can know the Counſels of the Heavenly Father. *People.*

The reſolves of Heaven are very profound, and hard to be underſtood. *Learned.*

The reſolves of the Supreme Heaven have neither Sound nor ſmell, by which they may be perceiv'd. *Lib. can. Xi Kim.*

24. That Heaven hath its ways of reckoning.

The different ways of mens reckoning, can prevail nothing againſt the reckoning of the Heavenly Father. *People.*

Heaven hath its Rules of Addition, Subſtraction, Multiplication, and Diviſion. *Learned.*

The Supreme Lord is without controle: his Commands are never given in Vain. *Lib. can. Kia Yu.*

25. That events depend on Heaven.

That our endeavours prove Succesful, is entirely owing to the Heavenly Father. *People.*

Learned. It belongs to men to undertake; but it belongs to Heaven to give Succeſs to their Undertakings.

Lib. can. Su Xu. Heaven is cauſe of thoſe things, whoſe cauſe we are ignorant of.

26. That Heaven is abſolute Lord of Life and Death.

People. Upon a man's deſigning me miſchief, I do not Immediately die: but if the Heavenly Father will have me die; die I muſt.

Learned. Heaven being willing I ſhould live, no man can hurt me: But if Heaven condemns me; who can deliver me?

Lib. can. Su Xu. If Heaven Condemns me not to die, what harm can my adverſary of the Kingdom *Quam* do me.

27. That Heaven diſpenſes Riches and Poverty.

People. If it pleaſe the Heavenly Father I ſhall proſper; if not, I ſhall not.

Learned. That ſome are happy, others miſerable, proceeds entirely from Heaven.

Lib. can. Su Xu. Riches and Honours depend on Heaven.

28. That Heaven is to be call'd upon as witneſs.

People. The Heavenly Father ſees my heart, and that is enough.

I need not bluſh, ſince Heaven ſees my heart. *Learned.*

Let Heaven hate me; may Heaven hate me, if it be not ſo. *Lib. can. Su Xu.*

The Reader hath in this ſmall Treatiſe, Three things of moment, in relation to the Matter of Fact in Queſtion; that is, to the ſenſe and meaning of the *Chineſe* in their Worſhip of Heaven, *Confucius*, and their Anceſtors.

In the firſt place, the Emperours Declaration couch'd in ſuch terms, and given in ſuch circumſtances, as render it clear and ſafe beyond exception. And its being Printed in the publick News Books, Regiſter'd among the Royal Acts, and preſented to the chief Miniſters and Preſidents of the Tribunals of the Empire, gives an unqueſtionable Authority and certainty. The Reader may underſtand by this Declaration, how undeſervedly this Prince, to whom Religion ows ſo much, hath been defam'd in *Europe*, as an Athieſt. And truly, could not this Injurious Aſperſion, which has been ſtrengthen'd by ſo many Conjectures, and ſtudy'd Reaſons, be effectually prov'd falſe; it would be certainly very prejudicial to the common belief of a God in theſe parts, upon account of the repute this Prince is in for his Learning, and the weight of his Authority in Deciſions of this nature. This is ſo very great, that either thro' reſpect or flattery, both the *Tartars* and *Chineſe* look upon all Royal Edicts, which they call *Chi Y*, as Oracles.

On this account we durſt not endeavour to add Authority to his Deciſion, by adjoyning their Approbations.

In the ſecond place we have produc'd many and clear Teſtimonies, in order to illuſtrate and confirm this Royal ſentence to thoſe of *Europe*, who are not acquainted with the force it hath here. Now theſe Teſtimonies are not Texts of their own Canonical Books; many of which proving clearly our Opinion, have been cited in Printed Apologies; nor given by *Chineſe* Chriſtians, who adhere to our Opinion, who in Number, Dignity, and Learning, far ſurpaſs thoſe who are againſt it, but by Infidels now living, who have paſs'd thro' all their different degrees, and have obtain'd the Supreme Dignities of the Empire, and being in theſe eminent Poſts, may be conſulted by ſeveral ways. Whence it is manifeſt, that it is a notorious falſity, and a mere begging of the Queſtion, to pretend that thoſe gloſſes of the Impious *Chineſe*, who ſay that the Ancients ſpoak of the Material Heavens, cannot be rejected; ſince the moſt Learned Men of the Empire, not only reject them, but declare them no ways conſonant to the ſenſe of the Ancients. This we can affirm upon our certain knowledge, that we never yet conſulted any Doctors of this Nation (and we have conſulted many, tho' of an inferiour rank) concerning the Worſhip of Heaven, whoſe Sentiments did not perfectly agree with the Teſtimonies of thoſe eminent Men we have cited, in exploding as erroneous their opinion, who pretend, that the Material Heaven

is

is meant, when mention is made of the Worſhip that is to be pay'd to Heaven.

In the Third place we have given ſtrong proofs of the knowledge of the true God, drawn from the Tradition of the royal Family, and the commonalty; which yet remains in ſpite of the many Superſtitions, which have crept in; now theſe put together, will evidently make out that this Noble and Ancient Empire grounded on ſuch excellent Laws, as are ſtill in force in it, owes not its Foundation to Athieſts. And hence our *Europian* Athieſt, will be no longer able to uſe it as an inſtance againſt Divines; who prove that Atheiſm is a neceſſary cauſe of publick Trouble and Miſeries; and ruins all manner of Government. Finally, it will evidently appear by theſe Teſtimonies, that Divine Providence preſerv'd the firſt Fathers and Founders of the *Chineſe* Church for many years from erring, even as to the matter of fact in queſtion, and gave them ſo perfect an underſtanding of the Claſſick books of this Nation; that their many and Learned Treatiſes on all manner of Subjects, are the only, which appear in the Royal Library; the only which are Studied by the Princes, and Chief Doctors of the Empire; and what ſavors of a Prodigy (conſidering the innate Pride of this People, and their hate of Externs) in the Tribunal of the Mathematicks, there are Sixty Volumes of their Compoſition, relating to that Science, which are the only made and ſtudied by the *Chineſe* and *Tarter* Doctors; ſo thaton the one hand they are highly valued by the Learned Chriſtians: and they have on the other for their ſentiment the Chief Doctors of the Empire.

Now

Now if they, who ſlight ſo much theſe able men, were in any repute amongſt the Learned of this Empire upon account of their skill in the Language and Antiquities of this Nation, they might indeed upon their Teſtimony and Eſteem, be admitted to contend with the firſt founders of this Miſſion, concerning matters, whoſe deciſion depends entirely on this ſort of Learning, but will never be thought fit to enter theſe liſts with them, on the account of the praiſes given them by their friends in *Europe*. In the mean time it is evident by what has been ſaid, that the Inſcription *Kien Tien* is not to be underſtood of the Material Heavens; and the uſual Honours paid to *Confucius* and the Dead, are only Civil Ceremonies, and Teſtimonies of Gratitude. Now the only reaſon which has prevail'd on men eminent for Vertue and Learning, to labour in the defence of this truth, is, that the contrary opinion will hinder many, and eſpecially the learned from embracing Chriſtianity; and expoſe this Miſſion to evident danger of being depriv'd of all their aſſiſtance, who labour in it.

But whereas we underſtand that ſome not only ſlight this danger, but endeavour alſo to leſſen it in others apprehenſions, by what they write into *Europe*: We, who of different Nations are here together, and Labour in the Goſpel; and have before our eyes the Laws of this Court, and are acquainted with their Sentiments, who govern the Empire, do diſcharge our conſciences by this publick Proteſtation; by which we declare, that the Church of *China* cannot long ſubſiſt, in caſe the Rites, by which this people Honour *Confucius*, and the Dead, be no longer per-

mitted in the Senſe we have explain'd them. We moreover Judge, as things ſtand at preſent, that the firſt accuſation made by any Malicious perſon, concerning the preſent differences about them, will certainly haſten the ruine of this Miſſion. We thought it neceſſary to conclude this Treatiſe with this proteſtation, leaſt it might be objected to the Society, that we gave not timely notice of this great and threatning danger: which we do at preſent, by ſubſcribing this Proteſtation at *Pekin* the 29*th.* of *July* in the Year 1701.

Anthony Thomas, Vice Provincial of *China*.
Phillippe Grimaldi, Rector of the College at *Pekin*.
Thomas Pereyra.
John Francis Gerbillon.
Joſeph Suares.
Joachim Bouvet.
Kiliamus Stumpf.
Baptiſta Regy.
Lewis Pernetti.
Dominick Paremn.
All Prieſts of the Society of JESUS.

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